THE SCOTTISH LITURGY ITS VALUE AND HISTORY

SECOND EDITION
REVISED
AND ENLARGED

W. PERRY, D.D

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THE
SCOTTISH LITURGY
ITS VALUE AND HISTORY

BY

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EDINBURGH: THE SCOTTISH CHRONICLE PRESS
100 PRINCES STREET
LONDON: A. R. MOWBRAY & CO., LTD.
28 MARGARET STREET, OXFORD CIRCUS, W.1
1922

Printed in Great Britain
by George Lewis & Co., Selkirk

IN MEMORIAM

M. B.

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https://archive.org/details/scottishliturgyi0000wper

PREFACE

THIS small volume makes no pretension to be a substitute for the masterly work of the late Bishop Dowden, entitled *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, a book which will remain indispensable to any student who desires to understand thoroughly the origin and structure of the Scottish liturgy of 1764. My object has been to provide for the general reader a plain exposition of the value of the liturgy of 1912, along with some explanation of its origin and growth. As contrast makes for clearness, I have been at some pains to compare the liturgy, not only with some ancient forms, but also with the English rite; and, if my criticism of the latter appears somewhat unsympathetic and unqualified, it is not because I am devoid of appreciation for the rugged and massive strength of the English liturgy, which bears on its face the marks and scars of the Reformation movement, but because the amount of paper at my disposal in these days of war has obliged me to exclude everything that is not essential to my purpose.

Liturgiology is commonly supposed to be a dismal science, which busies itself

merely with ancient and worn-out precedents. I conceive it rather to be an art which reverences the models of antiquity, not only because they are ancient, but also because they enshrine, in forms of beauty and fitness, the principles of Eucharistic worship. A liturgy may be said to be of value in so far as it enables people to practise the Apostolic injunction, "I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the understanding also."

I acknowledge with deep gratitude my indebtedness to the Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness (the Right Rev. A. J. Maclean, D.D.), who with rare generosity rendered me invaluable assistance out of the rich stores of his liturgical learning. My readers must, however, understand that he is in no way responsible either for the accuracy of my statements or for the soundness of my arguments. I owe the index to my brother, the Rev. A. Perry, Chaplain at Wemyss Castle, who also kindly revised the proofs.

I am much indebted to the Cambridge University Press for permission to print the outline and the more important parts of the liturgy in Appendix A. The reader of this book should study the complete liturgy, which can be obtained from the Cambridge Press at prices from 2d. upwards.

PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

In this edition I have carefully revised the substance of the book, incorporating in several of the chapters a considerable amount of fresh matter. There is added also a new chapter consisting of short notes on the text of the liturgy which may prove useful for study circles and classes, besides providing questions which may encourage discussions.

The more one studies the present edition of the liturgy, the deeper does the conviction grow that a fresh revision will be required before it can take its place in a complete Scottish Prayer Book. The revision of 1912 was a compromise rather than an effort to secure the best, and only the best form which the liturgy can take will enable it to maintain its position against a revised edition of the English Communion Service, which sooner or later is bound to appear.

W. P.

Xmas 1921.

DEFINITION OF LITURGICAL AND OTHER TERMS

Anamnesis (see oblation).

Anaphora (i.e. "offering up").—The Eastern name for the central part of the Eucharistic Service, from the *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts") to the end. *Pro-Anaphora* (i.e. "before the offering") is the title sometimes applied to the introductory part of the service, corresponding to our Ante-Communion.

Canon of the Mass is the Western title for the central part of the service after the Preface; originally it included the *Sursum Corda* and Preface.

Eucharist (i.e. "thanksgiving").—The usual title for the Holy Communion in early Christian writings (e.g. in the letters of S. Ignatius, A.D. 112); derived from a Greek word in Gospels, "gave thanks." Placed on title-page of *Scottish Liturgy* in 1912.

Eucharistic Prayer.—The central prayer (commencing with thanksgiving for creation and redemption) by which consecration is effected. Styled in the Book of Common Prayer in the Scottish liturgy "the Prayer of Consecration."

Institution, words of.—Our Lord's words at the Institution of the Eucharist, which form part of the Consecration Prayer in almost all liturgies. The prevailing theory in the Roman Catholic Church is that these words are the formula of consecration.

Invocation (Greek "epiclesis").—The form of words in which God is invoked to bless the elements of bread and wine, the blessing being almost always extended to include the communicants also.

Liturgy.—Order of service for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist; popularly, but less accurately, applied to describe any service book. Placed on title-page, 1912.

"*Laud's Liturgy.*"—Popular name for the Scottish Prayer Book, 1637.

Nonjurors.—A party both in England and Scotland who refused the oath of allegiance to William, Prince of Orange, 1689. (See page 49.)

Oblation (i.e. "offering," Greek term, *Anamnesis*).—Part of the Consecration Prayer, in which the redemptive acts of Christ are rehearsed and the memorial of the one Sacrifice is offered before God. Its usual place is between the words of institution and the invocation.

Offertory.—Presentation or offering of the elements of bread and wine at the beginning of the second part of the service. Not the collection of alms, as popularly understood.

Preface.—Western name for the introduction to the Consecration Prayer, commencing "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty . . ."

Sursum Corda ("Lift up your hearts").—The call to thanksgiving, leading to Preface and Eucharistic Prayer.

"*Usages.*"—Name given in eighteenth century to four Catholic practices—oblation, invocation, prayer for departed, and mixed chalice.

"*Wee bookies.*"—Reprints in eighteenth century of Scottish Communion Office of 1637, beginning with Offertory.

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INTRODUCTION

IN one sense the Scottish liturgy has had but a short life. It appeared first in the volume entitled *The Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland,* which was used once only, in the year 1637. But it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Church had been disestablished, that it secured a real hold upon the affections of our Jacobite forefathers. A century and a half is, therefore, all that it can boast of continuous use. Yet in another sense the liturgy is as old as the Book of Common Prayer itself, possessing vital connection with the first as well as with the last edition of that volume. The Scottish liturgy, in fact, is simply a revision of the Communion Service of the English Book of Common Prayer, which itself is not a book composed at the Reformation, but a compilation of services drawn directly from the liturgical wealth of the Catholic Church. The immediate source of the Prayer Book is to be found in the pre-Reformation service books of the Western Church, but influences have also poured into it from other sources—from the Reformed Church Orders as well

as from the liturgies of the Eastern Church. No proof of the continuity of the Church is so convincing as her Book of Common Prayer, and no service in that book is so rich in links with the past as the Order for the Administration of Holy Communion, to which alone in early times was given the title of the divine liturgy. It was to strengthen these links with the past that the Scottish liturgy was compiled, when its authors saw that the old were also the better ways for providing a reasonable and intelligent mode of celebrating the Holy Eucharist. Thus, though the liturgy appears in history as late as 1637, it goes back to the first Prayer Book of 1549, and, along with it, is heir to all the devotional wealth of the ages, incorporating through the Sarum Missal of the twelfth century all that is best in the Roman liturgy of the fifth century, taking its distinctive feature of the Invocation from the Eastern liturgies of the fourth and fifth centuries, and ultimately tracing its descent back to the simple outline of liturgical worship described by Justin Martyr in the second century. What the Apostolic mode of celebrating the Eucharist was we are unable to tell; but that it included the present two main divisions of our present liturgy is certain, the first or introductory part being derived from the worship of the Jewish synagogue and the second being modelled on our Lord's actions at the Institution of the Eucharist.

It is with the second, the specially Eucharist part of the service, that we are concerned in this book; but it is worthy of notice that the first part consisted of the four elements of lections, sermon, with praise and prayer, which were the core of the worship of the Synagogue, and which the Apostolic Church would naturally continue, substituting, of course, the Christian conception of God for the Jewish. In Jewish worship there was no counterpart to the Eucharist proper, and in devising a form for celebrating the Eucharist there was only one mode of procedure possible, to follow the example of Christ Himself.

CHAPTER I

Main Features and their Counterparts in Scripture

IN the compilation of an order of service for the supreme act of Christian worship there can be but one model—that of our Lord Himself, when, on the night in which He was betrayed, He enjoined His Apostles to "do this in remembrance of Me."

Our Lord's example. A glance at the passages in the New Testament (*S. Matt.* xxvi. 26-28; *S. Mark* xiv. 22–24; *S. Luke* xxii. 19, 20; 1 *Cor.* xi. 23–26, cf. x. 16) shows that our Lord, in instituting the memorial of His Sacrifice, performed these actions which may, for convenience, be separately enumerated as follows, though the first two probably refer to the same act under different aspects:—

1. He gave thanks.
2. He blessed.
3. He brake the bread.
4. He distributed the consecrated elements with the words, "Take, eat, this is My Body . . ."
5. He gave the command, "Do this in remembrance of Me."

Now the first test of the value of a liturgy must be, not its antiquity, nor the logical sequence of its parts, nor the beauty of its language, but its conformity to the mind and the example of Jesus Christ. Not, indeed, that the Scottish liturgy need fear the appeal to antiquity or the scrutiny of reason or the test of beauty. But an order for celebrating the Eucharist —primitive, logical, and beautiful though it might be—would be little short of an outrage if it ignored the example and teaching of Him whose Sacrifice it professed to plead. I am well aware that the brief accounts of the Evangelists and S. Paul afford abundant scope for controversy; but the plain sense of the narratives seems to me to justify completely the compilers of the earliest liturgies of the Church in giving special prominence to the elements of thanksgiving, blessing, breaking, distribution, and memorial or oblation. Let us consider, then, how these actions of the first Eucharist are represented in the Scottish liturgy, noting by way of comparison their position in the more familiar English rite.

Thanksgiving. "He gave thanks." The words of our Lord's Thanksgiving, or "Eucharist," are not reported; but we should suppose that, while the Father's goodness in creating the fruits of the earth, which were the symbols of the Sacrament, would be included, there would be thanksgiving also for the Incarnation,

and in particular for the approaching sacrifice of redemption shortly to be crowned by the Resurrection and Ascension. It is in this element of thanksgiving that the English rite is so astonishingly meagre. There is, to be sure, the *Sursum Corda*—"Lift up your hearts," "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God," and the Preface—"It is very meet, right . . ."—a noble thanksgiving for creation; but even this is torn from the Consecration by the interposition of the Prayer of Humble Access, so that the Preface (which, as the name implies, should be *introductory* to the Consecration or Eucharistic Prayer) might be described almost as a preface to nothing. The effect of all this is to pitch the Consecration Prayer in a minor key, as if the Church were sadly commemorating the Cross rather than rejoicing in thanksgiving for the redemption of Christ. There is, of course, in the English rite, thanksgiving after communion; but that is not the point. What is required is thanksgiving at the heart of the Service. Turn now to the Scottish liturgy (of which some parts are printed on pages 99–108), and you see that the *Sursum Corda,* Preface, and Consecration Prayer form one continuous and uninterrupted whole, thanksgiving being the dominant note throughout. Moreover, the Prayer of Consecration itself, following naturally after the Preface, begins with a burst of thanksgiving—"All

glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father." The Oblation continues the strain—"rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us"; while, after the Invocation, the whole action is offered to Almighty God as "our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"; the Prayer of Consecration ending, as it began, with an ascription of praise—"through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*" There is, surely, no question that the Scottish liturgy represents, more fully than the English, the mind of our Lord, who "took bread and gave thanks."

The Oblation. "In remembrance." Anticipating for convenience the order of the New Testament, we come next to a prominent feature of the liturgy which has entirely disappeared from the English Prayer of Consecration. This is the Oblation of the elements, or, as it is more intelligently styled in Eastern liturgies, the *anamnesis*, or memorial of the one Sacrifice which is made in the Eucharist before God. It is based on our Lord's description of the rite, "Do this in remembrance (*anamnesis*) of Me." (Cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 26, "Ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come," i.e. before God as well as before men.) In other words, having recited the

narrative of the Institution and the command "do this," priest and people proceed to "make the memorial" of the one Sacrifice with the elements of bread and wine solemnly offered to God for their divine purpose. It is true that the meaning of the term *anamnesis* in the Gospels has been disputed; but our Lord's language at the institution is steeped in the Old Testament, and there is no question, I think, that in the Septuagint version of Lev. ii. 2, the incense is a *memorial* "*unto the Lord*" (as also in Lev. xxiv. 7), while the offerings in Num. x. 10 are "a memorial (*anamnesis*) *before your God.*" [1] The word "remembrance," therefore, means primarily a memorial or remembrance *before God.* Further, the words "This is My Blood of the new covenant" refer back to Exod. xxiv. 4–8, "Behold the blood of the covenant." The covenant is God's, and the thought of sacrifice is clearly present.[2]

If, then, the Eucharist is the pleading before God of our Lord's perfect Sacrifice, this truth should neither be ignored nor obscured in the liturgy of the Church. According to the Scottish rite the oblation or *anamnesis,* as in the chief Eastern liturgies, is made after the words of institution, and runs as follows: "Wherefore,

[1] The technical terms "*oblation*" (Lat.) and "*anamnesis*" (Greek), though referring to the same act, describe different aspects of the act.

[2] See chap. vi., pp. 56 ff., and McNeile's *S. Matthew,* p. 382 f.

O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, and looking for his coming again with power and great glory." By this means every Eucharist becomes definitely a representation before God of the one Sacrifice; linked, so to speak, backward with the redemptive acts of Christ ("having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension"), and forward with the second Advent (1 *Cor.* xi. 26, "till He come"), "looking for his coming again with power and great glory." English liturgical scholars are all but unanimous in maintaining that one of the most unfortunate blunders of the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552 was to remove the Oblation from its proper place in the Prayer of Consecration, and to employ it as the first prayer of thanksgiving after the Communion; but, even if this were restored to its old place in the Prayer Book, it would have to be considerably

altered before it reached the rich fullness of the Scottish form.[1]

The Invocation. "He blessed." The formula of blessing which our Lord employed is, at the best, a matter of vague conjecture; but that it was not the words "This is My Body," etc., is clear, for these were the words with which He conveyed to the Apostles the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. That He used words in the benediction of the bread and the cup is beyond question on any reasonable interpretation of the term "blessed." If this be so, then we should expect in any liturgy which claims to follow the model of the first Eucharist some form of words in which God is prayed to bless His gifts of bread and wine. Certainly in S. Paul's time the cup of blessing was the cup which "we bless" (1 *Cor.* x. 16). But in the English Prayer of Consecration there is no trace of any words of benediction on the elements, for the petition, "Grant that we, receiving these Thy gifts," etc., is not so much a prayer of blessing in this sense as a prayer for worthy reception. The Book of Common Prayer possesses, indeed, a form of blessing the water for the Sacrament of Holy Baptism; it has no specific words for the hallowing of the bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist. The fact is that, according to the English rite, the emphasis in consecration seems to be placed upon

[1] The English Prayer of Oblation has no oblation of the elements, only the oblation of ourselves.

the recital of the words "This is My Body," etc., along with the imposition of the priest's hands; the rubric about reconsecration confirms this impression.[1] No doubt this type of Consecration Prayer is quite valid, and is accepted as such by the Scottish Church, which authorizes the English as well as the Scottish rite. It tends, however, to create in the minds of many the idea that consecration is effected by the words of institution, a theory which arose in the middle ages and is widely prevalent in the Church of Rome to-day.[2]

Now, whatever may be said in support of this theory, it is open to serious objection. In the first place, these words on our Lord's lips were words employed in distributing the Holy Sacrament, not in consecrating the symbols of it. In the second place, the reasonable mode of blessing material things is by prayer, not by an historical statement or extract from the New Testament. If we desire the divine intervention, the proper course is to pray definitely for it—"Ask and it shall be given you." This is what is done in the Scottish liturgy. After the narrative of the Institution is recited as our justification in celebrating the Eucharist, and when the redemptive acts of God have been solemnly recalled before God in the Oblation, a special petition is made praying God to "send thy Holy

[1] Procter and Frere, p. 495.
[2] Fortescue, *The Mass*, pp. 406-07.

Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power, they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life." This is, we should say, the reasonable and common-sense method of consecration; it is in close conformity to the first Eucharist described in the Gospels; it agrees with the practice of S. Paul; and it is adopted, as we shall see, in the great liturgies of the East, and in those of the orthodox Church (Russia, Greece, etc.) of the present day. The Roman Church follows a different model, but it is believed by many scholars that even the Roman rite contained in its original form an explicit invocation or formula of blessing the bread and wine.[1]

There remains but one thing more to say on this point, and I set it down in the cheerful hope of recovering the good-will of English readers who may feel somewhat aggrieved at my rough strictures on the English liturgy. The Book of Common Prayer, in its first and best edition (1549), itself contained an invocation in the Prayer of Consecration; and it was on this that the Scottish form was originally based. You have only to read it once to see that the Scottish liturgy may also claim to be

[1] Fortescue, *The Mass*, p. 402.

English. The words are these : "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee ; and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ."

In the Scottish liturgy the Invocation follows ancient forms, as well as that of 1549, in appealing for the operation of the Holy Spirit, because it is through the agency of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity that the divine will is effected in the Church. But the essential element in a liturgical invocation is simply prayer ; the explicit mention of the Spirit is not necessary, though a natural and valuable part of the formula of blessing.[1] The *raison d'être* of this feature of the liturgy is just this : if we desire that the bread and wine of the Eucharist should be, not simply bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ, then we should ask God to accomplish this result by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

The two remaining actions of our Lord—the fraction, or solemn breaking of the bread, and the distribution with appropriate words—require but brief mention.

The Fraction. "He brake." The fraction was so significant a feature of the rite in Apostolic times that it gave its name to

[1] In *Serapion* (A.D. 350) we find a prayer that the Word (Logos) may "make the Bread the Body of the Word."

the Eucharist itself, which is called "the Breaking of the Bread" in Acts ii. 42; and in ancient liturgies it is assigned an important place.

"He blessed and brake it." If the breaking followed the consecration, as the words of the Gospel suggest, ancient liturgies are justified in placing this important action after the consecration. In the Coptic liturgy, however, a fraction occurs exactly where it now stands in the Scottish and English liturgies—a natural enough place, though not the most appropriate—at the word "brake"; but it is very unlikely that the English or Scottish compilers were aware of this Egyptian precedent.

The Distribution. "He gave it to them and said, Take, eat . . ." Two liturgical points may be noted here—the words of distribution and the communicant's *Amen*. The Scottish liturgy employs only the first half of the words of administration in the English rite—a practical advantage, especially when there are many communicants. Besides, at so solemn a moment as the reception of Christ's Body and Blood, the fewer the words said the better. In the so-called Clementine liturgy of the fourth century the forms are, as in most ancient liturgies, extremely short, viz. "The Body of Christ" and "The Blood of Christ the chalice of life."

The co-operation of the communicant is an important matter, and this is ensured

by the utterance of the *Amen* of assent, a response which is very common in ancient forms. It is a pity that communicants are so seldom encouraged, even in Scotland where it is enjoined, to ratify the Church's benediction for them by saying the *Amen* at its close.

Summary. The main features of the Scottish liturgy have now been examined. They all stand out distinctly in the narrative of the Institution. Thanksgiving is the prominent note throughout, not thanksgiving at the close, but thanksgiving at the centre of the Service ; and, in consecrating the elements there are these three stages—(1) the recital of the words of institution as the justification of the whole action ; (2) the Oblation or *anamnesis*, the offering before God of the Eucharist as the memorial of the One Sacrifice ; (3) the Invocation, in which God is asked to bless His gifts of bread and wine, so that they may become what our Lord intended them to be.

CHAPTER II

Other Features of the Liturgy

WE have so far treated the principal features of the Scottish liturgy in connection with our Lord's actions at the first Eucharist. We now proceed to some characteristics of the rite, which, though not mentioned in the Gospel narratives, are true to the spirit of our Lord's teaching and peculiarly appropriate at the Lord's service. The first of these is Intercession.

The Great Intercession. This is the technical term for that prayer which is prefaced with the bidding "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church." In its position, in its scope, and in its composition, this intercession differs from the corresponding prayer in the English liturgy; and there is sound reason as well as ancient precedent for the differences which are not accidental but purposeful. The Eucharist is the supreme opportunity for intercession; for there we are not only pleading the one Sacrifice, but are also doing this "in remembrance," not simply of His Death, but "of *Me*," of Me who "am alive for evermore" as Priest and

Intercessor.[1] If this be so, the natural place for the intercession is the central part of the service, as close as may be to that divine "remembrance" which every Eucharist enacts.[2] Therefore, in the Scottish rite intercession immediately follows the Prayer of Consecration. It is no doubt dangerous to introduce unnecessarily questions of time into a service which brings us face to face with the eternal; but there is here involved something more than a mere matter of order or arrangement; for intercession in this place is the recognition and practice of the great truth, too commonly forgotten, that Christ our Lord is Priest as well as Victim, and with His perfect intercession we would fain mingle ours. This idea would account for the fact that from the fourth century the great intercession has been connected with the consecration, and in many liturgies occurs just after it, as in the Scottish rite.

The contents of the prayer in the Scottish liturgy are the same as in the English with two notable exceptions: prayer for the departed, and the commemoration of saints.

Prayer for the Departed. That is certainly a narrow view, both of prayer and of the Church, which would limit intercession to the "Church militant here *in earth*." The *whole* state of Christ's Church is surely within the scope of our intercession, the Church in Paradise as well as the Church on earth; and therefore the words "mili-

[1] Rev. i. 18; Heb. vii. 25. [2] See Appendix D.

tant here in earth" find no place in the Scottish rite, which in this respect follows the first Prayer Book of 1549. Prayer for the departed was omitted, owing to German influence, in the second Prayer Book of 1552; and in the last revision of 1661 the defect was only partially remedied by the insertion of the commemoration, "We bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear." As the prayer now stands in the English book, it may be charged with inconsistency; for, while the bidding restricts the range of intercession to the Church militant, the departed are included in the commemoration at the end. The Scottish liturgy avoids this inconsistency, and at the same time widens both the scope of prayer and the conception of the Church by dropping the restrictive words in the bidding, thus removing all doubt from the primitive practice of prayer for the departed.[1] So far as the actual language of the petition is concerned, the Scottish form differs but little from the English, a reserve, not unnatural in view of our ignorance of the state of the departed and of the abuses that have gathered round the practice, leaving to the silent intercession of the people any further definition than this, "And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours."

[1] See chap. vi.

Commemoration of Saints. Prayer for the departed is followed by a thanksgiving for the saints in language that for beauty and dignity is unsurpassed in any liturgy. A lover of the English tongue might be pardoned if he were to maintain that this splendid sentence by itself justified the existence of the Scottish rite. "And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

The Communion of Saints is thus explicitly recognized in the liturgy, prayer and thanksgiving being the means to that end. It was German influence in 1552 that led to the omission from the Prayer Book of thanksgiving for the saints, an element in public worship that is absent in none of the great liturgies either of East or West.

The Lord's Prayer fitly sums up the intercession, prefaced by the reverent bidding,

"As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say"; and this brings to a close the central part of the service which begins with the *Sursum Corda,* reaches its climax in the Prayer of Consecration, and concludes with the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church and the greatest of all intercessory prayers—that of our Lord. In the English service the Lord's Prayer commences the Post-Communion, in the same way as it begins also the closing part of the service at Baptism, at Confirmation, etc. There is something to be said for this arrangement, which is a product of the Reformation; but here in the Eucharist it ignores the intercessory nature of the Lord's Prayer. In ancient liturgies, almost without exception, the Lord's Prayer is found as the conclusion and summary of the Eucharistic intercession, in many of them introduced by a bidding such as that which is given in the Scottish liturgy. The following is the introduction to the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy of S. Basil: "And enable us, O Lord, with boldness and confidence to call upon Thee, our heavenly Father, and say, 'Our Father,' etc."

"*The People's Preparation.*" The logical order of the central part of the service relieves the Scottish liturgy of a defect in the English which, to me at least, has always appeared perhaps the most senseless of all the changes that were made in 1552. This is the interruption of the

people's preparation for Communion by the insertion of the *Sursum Corda* before the Prayer of Humble Access. Originally, in the English rite of 1548–49, the short Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access formed for communicants a little service of preparation, which took place after the Consecration and immediately before Communion. Obviously, the various parts of this act of devout preparation are fitted into one another in orderly sequence; and, though there is little or no precedent for it in the old liturgies, it is a most valuable part of the service, thoroughly English in its character, though traceable to German influence; and he would be a Philistine indeed who would wish to cut it out of the service. But those who mixed up this penitential act of preparation with the *Sursum Corda* were strangely blind to the fitness of things; for nothing could be more unreasonable than to sound the call to thanksgiving, "Lift up your hearts," etc., and then go back to the penitential note, "We do not presume. . . ." It is like singing Alleluia on Ash Wednesday, or playing the Wedding March at a funeral. In the Scottish liturgy the communicants' preparation is made immediately before Communion, and its penitential character is unbroken throughout.

It is, however, a question whether the whole of this section should not be transferred, so as to continue the preparation

for Communion implied in the recitation of the Ten Commandments or the Summary of the Law. It seems both desirable and natural to concentrate the mind on preparation for Communion at one point in the service. If this change be deemed too revolutionary, then "the People's Preparation" might be placed immediately before the offertory. In either case the effect would be that the act of Communion would follow directly the offering made in the Canon, as is the case in almost every known liturgy. Thus Thanksgiving, Offering, Intercession and Communion would be free from interruption of any kind. This proposal is not so great a break with the history of the Prayer Book as it looks; for originally "the People's Preparation" was a little English devotion inserted in 1548 into the Latin service after the Priest's Communion, when its private and personal character was unmistakeable. In its present place it seems to break intrusively into the central act.

In later chapters[1] are discussed certain minor features of the liturgy in their historical connection. Up to this point we have considered only the central part of the service, to which all else should be strictly subordinate.

A Practical Difficulty. One practical objection to this order requires a word of explanation. The conjunction of the Great Intercession with the Prayer of Consecra-

[1] See pp. 64 ff.

tion makes a considerable strain on the attention of the worshipper; two long prayers in succession are not easy to follow with devout concentration. Considerable help may be afforded if the celebrant is at some pains to recite the prayers in an intelligent and devotional manner. But there is no reason why, at some future time, the strain should not be relieved by the insertion of one or two *Amens* in one or both of the prayers, to enlist the worshipper's co-operation. It is high time that something were done to remove from people's minds the idea that an *Amen* means no more than that a prayer is finished; the ancient response of assent might well be used with something of the freedom that obtains in the East.[1] To append *Amen* at the end of the words of Institution, and at the close of the Invocation as well as at the conclusion of the whole prayer, would make both for edification and devotion; the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church might be similarly treated.

Summary. We have seen that Scripture and sound reason support the order of the Scottish liturgy. The note of thanksgiving is first sounded in the *Sursum Corda* and the Preface, and is continued throughout the Eucharistic Prayer by which the Consecration is effected. This prayer follows the model of the great liturgies of the East, first narrating the words of institution, and then, after making the oblation or

[1] P. 39.

memorial, invoking the Holy Spirit to bless the elements. Intercession follows in the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, concluded by the Lord's Prayer, the action culminating in Communion, preceded by the communicants' preparation.

CHAPTER III

The Scottish Liturgy compared with Ancient Forms

THE Value of Ancient Forms. Antiquity lends interest to an object of art; beauty alone gives it enduring value. Few are attracted to the great cathedrals of the Middle Ages solely by their age; it is their beauty of design and construction that wins admiration. Now the liturgist, it seems to me, is an artist rather than a scientist or a historian. He makes no fetish of the liturgies of the past; but he would be something of a barbarian if he were to ignore those great forms of worship which, like the greatest churches and the finest sculpture, are ancient, not modern. The golden age of liturgical art lies between the fourth and the twelfth centuries, the best products being probably those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. But, while the liturgies of the past owe their value to their merits rather than to their age, yet the early date of a liturgy possesses an importance for the Churchman far beyond that which the architect attaches to an ancient building. The earlier the liturgy, the more likely is it to approximate

to the mind of the undivided and the Apostolic Church, and the more free is it likely to be from fanciful and unworthy developments. It was to the early masterpieces of liturgical art that the various compilers and revisers of the Scottish liturgy looked for guidance, more especially from the eighteenth century onwards. Not that they were content to copy a feature of antiquity here and there, still less to devise a liturgy by sticking together bits of old ones; any fool could do that, and we should not greatly admire the result of his labour. The object of those who, gradually, through a period of nearly three hundred years, brought the Scottish liturgy to its present form, was in the first instance to provide a more scriptural, more fitting, and more catholic mode of celebrating the Eucharist without departing materially from the language and framework of the Book of Common Prayer. The second edition (1552) of that book was inferior to the first, just because German reformers had persuaded Cranmer to break away unnecessarily from the past; and in the later editions of 1559 and 1604 little was done to remedy the errors, though some improvements were made in 1661. Novelties, therefore, devoid of ancient precedent, had been tried under German influence and failed; the only hope for improvement, in the judgement of the Scottish compilers, lay in an attempt to regain from the great liturgies of the past true

principles of liturgical composition, and adapt these to the needs of the time and country. What these principles were will be most easily understood from a brief account of some of the ancient rites that formed the models of the Scottish liturgy.

The Earliest Forms. It is not likely that written liturgies existed before the end of the third century, though certain liturgical forms like the *Sursum Corda* (which is quoted verbatim by S. Cyprian, A.D. 250) are considerably earlier. It is certain, however, that as early as the middle of the second century the Eucharistic service assumed a more or less fixed order or arrangement, within which the prayers and thanksgivings were in the main extemporaneous, possibly with fixed endings, such as we find in S. Paul's prayers (e.g. *Eph.* iii. 14–21), leading up to the *Amen* [1] of the congregation.

Justin Martyr's description of the Service (A.D. 140) took a form which may be tabulated thus [2]:—

I. *Introductory.*

(*a*) Scripture reading from the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets.

(*b*) Sermon based on the reading.

(*c*) Prayers. A fourth element, usual here, is praise, in the form of

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[2] *Apol.* i. 65. Procter and Frere, pp. 507 and 432 f.

hymns or chants, which is mentioned by Pliny (A.D. 112).[1]

II. *Eucharist proper.*

(*a*) Offering of elements of bread and of wine mixed with water.

(*b*) Prayer and thanksgiving (with *Amen* by the people).

(*c*) Distribution of the Sacrament to those present; absent members having the Sacrament carried to them by the Deacons.

(*d*) Almsgiving; the position of which is not stated.

The kiss of peace [2] (derived from "the holy kiss" of the New Testament) is mentioned in *Apol.* i. 65 as occurring "after the prayers" i.e. before II. (*a*).

This general outline appears in all developed liturgies from the fourth century; and it is followed also substantially both in the English and Scottish rites.

Every known liturgy possesses the main divisions noted above as I. and II., corresponding roughly to our Ante-Communion and Communion services, and within these appear the various elements mentioned by Justin. But it is impossible to fill out this skeleton of a liturgy till we reach the fourth century. The liturgy of Apostolic Constitutions, which belongs to this period,

[1] There is no doubt that the four elements of prayer, praise, lessons, and sermon are derived from the worship of the Jewish Synagogue, which follows this form to-day as it did in Apostolic times.

[2] See Appendix C.

undoubtedly influenced the Scottish compilers, who spoke of it as the liturgy of S. Clement; but, as that of S. James is somewhat more typical of the East, and was as much, if not more, the model of the Scottish rite, we may take it as a good example of an early liturgy. The date of the Greek text is uncertain, but its use by the Syrian Jacobites suggests a date previous to the Monophysite Schism in the fifth century, if not earlier.

The Liturgy of S. James. The first part of the service need not detain us; it proceeds on lines that never vary in any liturgy, containing, like our Ante-Communion service, the elements of prayer, praise, Scripture lessons and sermon, along with the Nicene Creed, and a ceremonial entry on the part of the officiating ministers at the beginning.

The second part of the service—the *Anaphora* (offering)—after a procession with the elements, begins with the offertory (offering of bread and wine), and then proceeds to the *Sursum Corda* and *Sanctus*, after which the *Eucharistic Prayer* is said. This is a long prayer, broken up by a number of *Amens*, which are said sometimes by the deacon and sometimes by the people; and it commences with a *thanksgiving* for creation and redemption beginning thus: "Holy art Thou, King of the ages, and Lord and Giver of all good; holy also is Thy only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. . . ." This leads to the narrative

of the Institution, the words "This is My Body" being said by the priest with a loud voice. Then follows the *anamnesis*, which commences in this way, "Remembering, therefore, His life-giving sufferings, His saving Cross and Death and Burial and Resurrection and Ascension . . . and His second glorious and fearful coming, with glory to judge the living and the dead . . . we offer this unbloody sacrifice. . . ." Next comes the Invocation (*Epiclesis*) or blessing of the bread and wine, of which the following are the principal words: "Send forth upon us and upon these Thy gifts Thy all-holy Spirit . . . that He may hallow by His holy and good and glorious Presence and make this bread the holy Body of Christ (People, *Amen*) and this cup the precious Blood of Christ (People, *Amen*); that it may become to all who receive the same for remission of sins and for eternal life, for sanctification of soul and body." [1]

Intercession for various classes of people, including the saints and the departed generally, follows, each clause beginning, "Remember, O Lord," and this is summarized by the Lord's Prayer. After the manual acts Communion is given, and the service ends with thanksgiving.

The earlier liturgy of Apostolic Constitutions (i.e. so-called Clementine) adopts much the same general order, though simpler, and in the Invocation less com-

[1] Brightman, *Liturgies*. p. 53 f.

plete. It will be seen at once that the Scottish liturgy follows this model in the order of the parts, and occasionally even in the language, the sequence being (1) *Sursum Corda and Sanctus*; (2) Eucharistic Prayer, with its three parts—(*a*) Institution, (*b*) *Anamnesis*, (*c*) Invocation [1]; (3) Intercession and the Lord's Prayer; (4) Communion; (5) Thanksgiving Prayer and dismissal.

The Roman Liturgy. The chief Western liturgy, that of Rome, from which the English liturgy is derived, is less natural in the order of its parts. Like the Eastern liturgies, it falls into two main divisions, called the Ordinary and the Canon of the Mass. The first contains the usual elements of prayer, praise, Scripture lessons and sermon, and now (though not originally) includes also the *Sursum Corda* and Preface. The second begins the Consecration Prayer with intercession for the living, and then proceeds to the Consecration, making two petitions for the divine intervention, one before and the other after the words of Institution, but omitting the usual definite petition for the blessing of the bread and wine by the Holy Spirit. Intercession is then resumed, this time for the dead; and the prayer ends with a strange petition which has somehow got into the wrong

[1] The Egyptian rite has two invocations, one before and one after words of Institution. All other Eastern rites have one, after words of Institution. See Bishop of Moray's Article, E. R. E., vol. vii., p. 410.

place, having been originally, it would appear, a prayer for blessing the fruits of the earth.[1] All scholars believe that the Roman form has undergone at some period serious dislocation; and, as it stands, it is marred by difficult Latin expressions and by a sequence which even the Roman Catholic writer Mgr. Fortescue finds it difficult to explain.[2] This liturgist has no doubt that at one time the Roman liturgy, like the liturgies of the East, possessed an explicit Invocation; but in its present form, like the English liturgy, it is devoid of this, the most natural feature in the Eucharistic Prayer. It may be added that it was not till the Middle Ages that the theory, now current in the Church of Rome, arose, according to which the declaration "This is My Body," etc., is the means of consecration. And it is probable that the absence of a direct invocation originated the theory, which is no longer held by some Roman Catholic scholars.

Differences between the Western and Eastern Forms.[3] The main differences between these types of liturgy are these :—

1. The Western has many parts of the service that vary with the Christian seasons and holy days, e.g. collects, epistles and gospels, prefaces, etc.; while in the Eastern forms no variable parts are found, except the Scripture lessons. The Eastern Church

[1] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 182–83.
[2] *The Mass*, p. 333 f.
[3] See Appendix B.

secures variety by employing a different complete *Anaphora* of the same type at certain times.

2. The Western liturgy is much shorter than the Eastern, the brief variable collect being a special and beautiful feature of it.

In these two respects both the English and Scottish forms resemble the Western type.

3. The Eucharistic Prayer in the chief Western rite—the Roman—is confused; and possesses, in addition to certain minor inconsistencies, these defects; (*a*) thanksgiving is less evident than in the Eastern form; (*b*) the commemoration of Christ's redemptive acts is more meagre; (*c*) the intercession is broken up, part coming before and part after the consecration; (*d*) there is no clearly-expressed invocation or petition for the blessing of the elements.

In these respects the English rite may be said to follow the Roman rather than the Eastern type, while the Scottish adopts the more natural order of the East.

The Gallican Liturgy. Exception has been taken to the Scottish liturgy on the ground that, being originally a Western rite, its development should have proceeded on Eastern and not on Western lines, and that in its present form it is something of a hybrid. Critics of this type, to whom the Roman liturgy is the one norm for the West, forget that the Roman liturgy itself is ultimately Eastern in its origin, and that at one time it prob-

ably possessed even the distinctive Eastern feature of an express invocation. It has been already shown that the Roman rite has developed on lines which have left its canon illogical and confused. While the Roman liturgy lost by its departure from Eastern forms, the Scottish liturgy gained both in orderliness and beauty by a return to the ancient forms of the East.

As for the mingling of Eastern and Western elements in the same liturgy, that is no novelty; for, in the Hispano-Gallican or Mozarabic rites there are to be found, side by side, Western elements, such as collects, variable prayers, prefaces, etc., and an Eastern form of consecration. This group of liturgies was current in Gaul till the eighth century, when the rite was suppressed by Roman authority save in Toledo and Salamanca, where it is still used, though in a highly Romanized form. Cranmer, certainly, was acquainted with this rite, of which there are clear traces in the short prayers preceding the blessing of the water at Baptism in the Book of Common Prayer; and it is possible that his knowledge of that type of liturgy encouraged him to introduce the Invocation into the Consecration Prayer of 1549. It cannot, however, be proved that the Gallican rite directly influenced either the present Scottish or the English liturgies, though it was the liturgy of the Celtic Church in the British Isles, and fragments of it survive in the Stowe Missal, the Bangor Antiphonary, etc. But

it is of special interest to Scottish people as an example of a marked fusion of Western and Eastern elements. The following is a translation of a Gallican Invocation of the sixth century: "We humbly pray that Thou wouldest deign to receive and bless and sanctify this Sacrifice, that it may become to us a true Eucharist in Thy Name and in the Name of Thy Son and Holy Spirit, changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord God, Jesus Christ." [1]

Summary. We have seen that the Eastern type of liturgy differs considerably from the Western, and that the differences in the Consecration Prayer are of real consequence. Between the two stands the Gallican rite, now all but extinct, combining, not unlike the Scottish liturgy, the special features of both.

[1] Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 217.

CHAPTER IV

History of the Scottish Liturgy

I

LAUD'S LITURGY AND THE WORK OF THE NONJURORS

THE Scottish liturgy has been criticized in some quarters as the product of certain pedantic Nonjurors of the eighteenth century who, with scissors and paste, cut off, in Philistine fashion, the marks of the Reformation from the English liturgy, and then stuck upon it foreign elements from the East, handing down to posterity a form of service smacking of the lamp rather than a living expression of Anglican worship. Nothing could be further from the truth than criticism of this kind. The Scottish liturgy appeared a century before the Nonjurors; and in its first form, that of 1637, it already possessed the Eastern feature which has distinguished it throughout the centuries, namely, an Invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements, deriving this, not from the East, but from the English Prayer Book of 1549.

"*Laud's Liturgy*" (as the Prayer Book of 1637 was popularly called) owed to the

great archbishop no more than his supervision and co-operation. It was the work of two Scottish bishops, Maxwell of Ross, and Wedderburn of Dunblane, aided by Wren, Dean of Windsor, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, a scholar who has left his mark on the Prayer Book of 1661. Had it been judged upon its merits, Laud's liturgy would have met with a different reception from that which befell it in the city of Edinburgh on the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1637. But these were the days when the royal prerogative was ever obtruding itself into spiritual affairs, and the Scottish people saw in the introduction of a service book by royal authority a fresh outrage on their liberty. A riot signalized its first appearance in the High Church of S. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, and the book was thereupon summarily withdrawn. The liturgy never had a chance; and, even if it had received a fair trial, there were few in Scotland at the time gifted with the taste to appreciate it. It lay on the shelf for nearly a quarter of a century; but in 1661 its merits were recognized in England, and it affected in a variety of ways the service book which is now in use throughout the Anglican Communion.

In Scotland it remained in total obscurity until the eighteenth century, when the Nonjurors determined to use the liturgy contained in it at the administration of Holy Communion.

Features of Laud's Liturgy. In the

order of its parts it is identical with the English rite with this notable exception—that the Prayer of Consecration follows, as it should, the *Sursum Corda* and Preface, the Prayer of Humble Access occurring after the Consecration, and immediately before Communion. It is mainly in the Prayer of Consecration that the difference between the English and the Scottish rites appears, the latter going back to the Prayer Book of 1549 for the following elements arranged in this order—(1) Invocation of the Holy Spirit, (2) the words of institution, (3) the oblation of the elements, which concludes with the offering "of ourselves, our souls, and bodies," etc. It will be noticed that this arrangement is not the order prescribed in the liturgies of the East, nor in the present Scottish liturgy, in which the invocation is the climax of the act of consecration and comes last. The invocation was placed before the words of institution in 1549, probably, as Dr Brightman suggests,[1] in order to combine the two theories of consecration without giving undue prominence to the Eastern. Other improvements on the English rite of the time were these—(1) The fine rubric, still retained in the present Scottish liturgy, which orders for the Holy Table not only "a fair white linen cloth," but also "other decent furniture meet for the High Mysteries there to be celebrated," and directs that the Table shall "stand at the upper-

[1] *The English Rite*, p. cvi.

most part of the chancel or church." (2) The more definite offertory rubric, "The presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine upon the Lord's Table." (3) The commemoration of the departed and of the saints in the Prayer for the Church Militant. (4) The omission of the second half of the English words of administration at the Communion. From this brief sketch it will be seen that Laud's liturgy was a revision of the English rite in a Catholic direction; but it is only fair to add that an endeavour was also made by its compilers to meet the prejudices of the time, notably in two respects, namely, the substitution of the word "presbyter" for "priest," and the retention of the words "militant here in earth" in the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church. The word presbyter, for "priest," was, however, in effect a challenge to people who had been taught to see in the "elder" of Presbyterianism the abolition of the priest. They were not likely to be pleased at finding their favourite word quietly carried into a liturgy, which thus testified to the fact that presbyter was but priest writ large. The term "presbyter" is still retained in the Scottish liturgy; it is simply the Greek form for the second order of the ministry, and is now to be found in the margin of the Revised Version of the New Testament as an alternative to the more vague and misleading word "elder." [1]

[1] Acts xx. 17.

II

THE NONJURORS

It was not till the early part of the eighteenth century that the discarded liturgy of 1637 came to its own, when the Nonjurors, a party who were keen advocates of catholic tradition in religion and of the Stuart cause in politics, turned to it for a fuller expression of primitive practice than they found in the Book of Common Prayer. These were at first divided into two groups, one favouring, the other opposing certain practices, described in these days as "usages," of which the most important were these: (1) The oblation, (2) the invocation, (3) prayer for the departed, and (4) the mixing of the chalice with water. In course of time these "usages" became the general practice of the Scottish Church, though not without a struggle, details of which will be found in Bishop Dowden's work.[1] The liturgy of 1637 already contained the first two of the "usages": the third was partially expressed in it, and the fourth could be practised by any bishop or priest on his own initiative. "Laud's" liturgy thus provided practically all that the Nonjurors required; but there was one obstacle to its employment, and that was the expense involved in printing the complete Prayer Book, or even the whole of the Communion service.

[1] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 59 f.

The "Wee Bookies." To overcome this difficulty there was published in 1724 the first of the "wee bookies," as they were called, a reprint of the central part of the Communion Office beginning with the Offertory. With a Prayer Book for the first part of the service, and a "wee bookie" of a dozen pages for the second, nothing more was needed for the worshipper. In those days, when the disestablished Church was incapable of legislating for itself, bishops and priests were free to do pretty much as they pleased, and the "wee bookies" were introduced with little difficulty in several dioceses, the fact that they were associated with King Charles I. being a point in their favour. But in 1731 the Scottish bishops formally recognized the Scottish as well as the English rite in public worship, and this step led to the widespread adoption of the former, especially in the Dioceses of Aberdeen, Brechin, Moray, and St. Andrews.

"*The Natural Order.*" The second stage in the development of the Communion Office was almost inevitable, and, like the first, was due to individual initiative. Excellent as was the rite of 1637, its defects were obvious; and with a few strokes of the pen they could be to a great extent remedied. Accordingly, in 1724, we find "wee bookies" in which a bishop had written in the margin certain numerals, by means of which he altered the order of the service, and was able to say the Prayer of

Consecration in a more logical and primitive form. This went on till 1735, when there appeared anonymously a "wee bookie" with these words on the title-page—"All the parts of this office are ranked in the natural order." Thus the Scottish liturgy reached the stage when the order of the parts took the form that they now have, though there were still considerable changes to be made, especially in the language of the invocation.

Communion Office of 1764. Bishop Rattray's work on the liturgies of S. James and S. Clement, published in 1744, led to the publication, under the direction of the Scottish bishops in 1764, of a text which became the recognized Communion Office until 1911. In this form "Laud's liturgy" is discernible only to the observant student; for not only is the order of the parts adjusted to the form of ancient liturgies, but the language of the invocation also is considerably changed. The Invocation of 1764 runs as follows: "And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son." Whence did Bishop Falconer, who was the leading spirit in this revision, derive this form? Bishop Dowden says that he followed the liturgy of S. Clement (the form in Apostolic Con-

stitutions), but not far enough. No doubt this liturgy influenced the text of 1764, but of verbal resemblance in the invocation there is hardly a trace.[1] It seems to me that Falconer, despairing of the attempt to force into English words the Greek of any liturgy, simply endeavoured to express in the most direct manner possible the principle of the normal liturgical invocation. He was right in eschewing the dangerous expedient of translation, but he was wrong in interpreting his models. By stopping short at the words "that they may become," etc., he omitted what all ancient liturgies are careful to express, the purpose of the consecration. Thus the liturgy was exposed to two charges—(1) it was without ancient precedent, and (2) it was popish, in appearing to countenance the doctrine of transubstantiation; the latter was, of course, a silly charge, but it was at the same time one with which the prejudiced might and did make some play in view of the abrupt ending of the form.

Summary. From the Nonjuring movement, then, the liturgy (as derived from "Laud's") gained and preserved these definite advantages—(1) an arrangement of the central part of the service modelled on the great liturgies of the East; (2) a

[1] The form reads, "Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, to the end that those who have received thereof may be confirmed in piety, receive remission of sins. . . ."

form of consecration which through the invocation placed the emphasis on prayer rather than on the words of institution; (3) the recognition of prayer for the departed by the omission of "militant here in earth"; (4) the unity of the "people's preparation"; (5) the restoration of the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis* to something more like its original form by the insertion of the clause "and to Thee, the Holy Ghost."

This was the rite which was employed in 1784 at the consecration of Bishop Seabury, the first bishop of the American Church, in Aberdeen; and, when the time came for the Church on the other side of the Atlantic to compile a liturgy of its own, this edition of the Scottish liturgy was taken as the model of the Consecration Prayer which is found at the Eucharist in the United States to-day.

CHAPTER V

The Nineteenth Century and the Liturgy of 1912

TOWARDS the close of the eighteenth century the Church was slowly recovering from the blows of disestablishment and legalized persecution. In 1792 the penal laws were repealed: and, though certain disabilities remained in force against the clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the leaders were free to devote themselves to the work of reconstruction and organization which was so necessary during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Lowered Status of the Liturgy. Throughout this period the Scottish liturgy was of "primary authority" in the public worship of the Church, though the English also was formally recognized; but by the canons of 1863 the position of the two rites was reversed, the English being elevated to the superior position and the Scottish receiving little more than a bare toleration. This reactionary step was due to a laudable desire on the part of a section of the Scottish Episcopal Church to demonstrate the identity of episcopacy on both sides of the

Tweed. The development of travelling facilities and the influx into Scotland of large numbers of English and Irish Church people rendered it necessary to leave no doubt as to the communion of the Scottish Episcopal Church with the sister Churches of England and Ireland; and to thrust the Scottish liturgy into the background appeared the speediest means to this end. No one could object to the general aim of the canon; but nothing can be said for a measure that degraded a liturgy which, even in those days, had called forth the highest praise from English Churchmen, which had placed an indelible mark on the Communion Office of the American Church, and which bore striking resemblances to the liturgies of the Holy Orthodox Church in the East. Those who framed the canons of 1863, in seeking to gain the sympathy of England, apparently closed their eyes to the possible danger of losing that of Scotland, and their action certainly had the effect of lending some colour to the sneer that episcopacy is an exotic in Scotland, devoid of historic connection with the national spirit.

The deed, however, was done, and its result was to silence the Scottish liturgy for nearly forty years at synods, consecrations of bishops, ordinations, and the like, to bar its introduction into settled congregations, and to render its adoption by new congregations well-nigh impossible. Those who chanced to meet American and

English visitors to Edinburgh at the beginning of the present century will remember their astonishment and dismay when they discovered that in the Scottish metropolis the Scottish liturgy was the occasional exception rather than the rule at the Sunday Eucharist.

Bishop Dowden's Work. It was an Irishman, Dr Dowden, then Principal of the Theological College of the Scottish Church, who opened the eyes of Scottish Church people to the value of the liturgical treasure that had thus been relegated to a position of harmless obscurity. In 1884 he published his great work under the title of *An Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office and of the Communion Office of the United States of America.* Its purpose was (1) to trace the origin and history of the Scottish and American rites, (2) to prove that the edition of 1764 was the recognized text of the office, and (3) to supply liturgical notes on the various parts of the service, and in particular to show the connection between the Consecration Prayer of the Scottish liturgy and that of ancient forms. Distinguished by a masterly grasp of liturgical principles as well as by an intimate and first-hand knowledge of Scottish history, the volume marked a turning-point in the fortunes of the liturgy. English and American scholars were deeply interested, and in Scotland no one with a claim to intelligence could any longer treat the Scottish Communion Office as the fad

of a pedantic party in the Church. Indeed, the book had only been in circulation a few years when opinion throughout the Church appeared to be ripe for the revision of the liturgy and the abolition of the obnoxious Canon of 1863. Unfortunately, the northern dioceses were alarmed at Bishop Dowden's criticism of the Invocation (see pp. 51 f.), and voices were raised against any attempt to tamper with a formula which many believed to express and guard the doctrine of the Real Presence. The *odium theologicum* from the outset prejudiced what was really a liturgical question. In such conditions it was hopeless to press the question of revision ; and when the General Synod met in 1890 it left both the liturgy and its status untouched. Bishop Dowden was a quarter of a century before his time. Happily, he lived to see the fruits of his labour in the revision of 1912, which proceeded on the lines that he had suggested in 1884.

The Present Liturgy. The chief problem before the Revision Committee, appointed by the Scottish bishops in 1909, was this —how to alter the form of invocation so as to avoid the charge of watering down sacramental doctrine, on the one hand, and of retaining an abrupt and bald expression of it on the other. Its solution will be best understood if we print the old and the new forms side by side.

The Invocation.

1764.	1912.
And we most humbly beseech Thee, O Merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son.	And humbly praying that it may be unto us according to His word, we Thine unworthy servants beseech Thee, most merciful Father, to hear us, and to send Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by His life-giving power, they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life.

At the outset a suggestion of the late Dr Bright, the eminent historian and liturgical scholar, in the *Church Quarterly Review* as far back as 1890, commended itself to the committee as a reasonable starting-point for their deliberations. This, which followed a dictum of St. Cyprian, was to the effect that, in any alteration of the form of invocation, the words employed should express no more and no less than that which our Lord intended the sacrament to be: the Prayer of Consecration should, in fact, leave the doctrine of the Real Presence, where the Church had left it, undefined, and revision should proceed

on liturgical and not on doctrinal lines. Few would question the wisdom of this counsel, and the committee approved of it unanimously. There was less agreement as to the next proposal, which was to insert at the beginning of the invocation a statement embodying Dr Bright's suggestion; for it was urged that this meant the introduction of the very doctrinal element which the suggestion had been intended to exclude. It was, however, carried by a majority; and appeared in this form, "humbly praying that it may be unto us according to His word," the substance of the words being derived from the response of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Annunciation. The next step was purely liturgical, and gave little trouble—to bring the liturgy into closer agreement with many ancient forms by making the invocation include the communicants as well as the elements. This was accomplished by the introduction of a few words from the liturgy of S. James—"Send Thy Holy Spirit upon us [1] and upon these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine," an alteration that withdrew the emphasis from the words "bless and sanctify." It was, however, felt desirable to retain these words of the old form; but this could be done only by the introduction of a participial clause, "being blessed and hallowed by His life-

[1] The "upon us" is also a great feature of the Byzantine rite (St. Basil and St. Chrysostom) and the Armenian.

giving power," in which the word "power" was unfortunately employed for the more correct term, in the liturgy of S. James, "presence."

The rest was easy; the purpose of consecration had to be expressed, if the invocation was to escape the charge of abruptness and resemble the form of ancient invocations; and so the words "to the end that all . . ." were added. The term "become," from the old form of 1764, was left unchanged, as the proposal in 1890 to alter this word to "become unto us" or "be," or to render the idea by an active verb "make" had aroused acute controversy, and in fact had destroyed the revision movement of that date.

It will now be seen that the present form possesses these distinct advantages over that of 1764: (1) there is an invocation of the Holy Spirit *on the communicants* as well as on the elements; (2) the object of consecration is expressed, as in all ancient forms, "to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified . . ."; (3) the words of the old form are substantially retained, so that the present form is a true development and not a new departure.

It cannot, however, be said that the new form is free from blemish. It is long, nearly twice as long as the old; it is obscure; it is redundant, for there are now three different petitions for communicants in the Prayer of Consecration.

The form, therefore, lacks the simplicity which distinguished that of 1764. If the nonjuring revisers strove overmuch for directness, those of 1912 erred in transferring by a more or less literal translation the language of a Greek liturgy into an English form. The omission of two phrases, viz., "humbly praying, . . ." and "being . . . power," would certainly make for clearness, though it must be acknowledged that the loss of the words "blessed and hallowed" would be unfortunate. Be that as it may, the form thus adopted undoubtedly brought the invocation into closer conformity with ancient models, and at the same time met the objections of those who regarded the old form as deficient, both from the liturgical and theological point of view.

Other Improvements. Little difficulty was found in improving other parts of the liturgy. A fuller and more scriptural *anamnesis* or oblation was provided by inserting an anticipation of the Second Coming, "and looking for his coming again with power and great glory." The Offertory was made to include the offering of bread and wine as well as the alms, the words of Solomon, "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness . . .," being prescribed after the bread and wine are offered and set on the holy table. The deacon's part in the service was, as in the great liturgies of the East, clearly indicated at the Epistle, the Offertory, the bidding in the Prayer

for the whole state of Christ's Church, and the address after Communion. New Prefaces were also provided for the Epiphany, the Purification, the Annunciation, feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, All Saints' Day, the consecration of bishops, the ordination of priests and deacons, and for the dedication of a church. A useful substitute for the Ten Commandments, or summary of the law, was also permitted, on weekdays, in the threefold *Kyrie*—an old Western feature of the first part of the service; and the post Communion was enriched by the addition of three beautiful collects from the Columban Church,[1] and of collects for the various seasons of the Christian year. Finally, three most valuable additions were made, one in the title, and the other two in rubrics following the blessing. The first of these was the adoption of the scientific term "liturgy" for "Communion Office" and "Eucharist" as an addition to "Holy Communion"; the second was the permission of the mixed chalice, one of the four "usages" which was not formally adopted in 1764; and the third was the authorization of reservation "for the sick and others who could not be present at the celebration in church." Both the mixed chalice and reservation were, it is true, practices of long standing in Scotland; but it was important to sanction them formally

[1] Two of these were from the Book of Deer, and one a paraphrase of a verse of St Columba's *Altus*.

in the liturgy of the Church.[1] The liturgy, thus finally revised, was duly authorized by the Primus, on behalf of the Scottish bishops, on February 22, 1912; and in the revised code of canons of the previous year the legal restrictions imposed on its use in 1863 were removed, careful regulations being framed to give reasonable liberty for the introduction of the rite into any congregation. The old edition of 1764 was also sanctioned for use in those congregations in which it had been employed previous to 1911.

Summary. The present liturgy, which, as we have seen, is an advance on that of the Nonjurors in many ways, owes its existence to two main causes—the widespread feeling that the Invocation of 1764 was incomplete and abrupt, and the lowered status of the liturgy which resulted from the Anglicizing policy of the nineteenth century. The revision of 1912, by amplifying the invocation, secured liberty and equality for the Scottish rite; and it has been amply justified by results; for the liturgy has spread into congregations which would have viewed the form of 1764 with grave suspicion. There is now not a cathedral in Scotland in which it is not in regular use, and in the majority of Scottish congregations it holds an honoured place and meets with increasing appreciation.

[1] See chap. vi.

CHAPTER VI

The Witness of the Liturgy

WHILE the general aim of the compilers was, as we have seen, to enshrine the Eucharist in a more worthy form than that provided in the Book of Common Prayer, there were also, behind the questions of liturgical fitness, certain matters of faith and practice to which they desired to give expression in the worship of the Church. Of these the chief were the four "usages," as they were styled by the Nonjurors; and, if we add reservation for the sick and the absent, it may be said that the Scottish liturgy, as compared with the English, bears witness to five points which in the English rite are not denied so much as obscured. These are the Oblation or *anamnesis*, the Invocation, Prayer for the departed and Thanksgiving for the saints, the mixed Chalice, and Reservation; and in these features the liturgy not only conforms to ancient models, but also testifies to certain truths which these liturgical forms express. Thus, the Oblation is not only a dramatic and impressive feature of the rite; it is also, and even more, a

means of exhibiting the Godward, or sacrificial, aspect of the Holy Communion. Again, the Invocation definitely expresses the fact that, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the symbols of bread and wine undergo a real though spiritual change. Prayer for the departed and the commemoration of saints witness to the reality of the communion of saints; and Reservation is a means of testifying to the unity of a congregation. The mixed chalice is in a sense of less consequence, being simply a primitive practice of the Church; but, if our Lord employed at the first Eucharist the mixed cup, we cannot treat this point as a matter of indifference. The question, therefore, that now arises is this: Is the Scottish liturgy justified in its witness to the truths which these liturgical features are intended to signify? Let us begin with that most difficult truth which is enshrined in the *anamnesis* or Oblation.

Eucharistic Sacrifice. Is the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Communion of such importance as to require the emphasis which the *anamnesis* in the liturgy supplies? It is plain that the language used by our Lord at the institution is sacrificial—"the Body given for you," "the Blood of the new covenant," "eat," "drink"; and the setting of the Eucharist in the Sacrifice of the Passover leads to the same conclusion. So far there would probably be little or no difference of opinion; but the moment the Eucharist is described as a sacrifice,

resentment and controversy are aroused. Now it must be confessed that, in his treatment of this truth, the theologian is less happy than the poet; for, just as people learn more about the atonement as a fact from hymns like "Rock of Ages" than from sermons, so are they more attracted to the sacrificial view of the Eucharist when they sing Dr Bright's beautiful hymn, "And now, O Father, mindful of the love," than when they read a book like Bishop Gore's *The Body of Christ*. "Pectus facit theologum" ("the heart makes the theologian"), and the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist is a fact for the heart and the imagination rather than a theory for the head. Yet reason must be reconciled to it. What, then, is the fundamental point which lies at the basis of this truth? It is, I think, just this—that the Eucharist is not merely something to remind us of a past event, but also, and more, something that we present as a *memorial before God*, an *anamnesis*, as our Lord described it by a word derived from the Old Testament; not simply a reminder *to us*, but a memorial which we show forth before God as our supreme plea. That may appear a very simple statement to some, too simple, perhaps, for others. Yet it seems to me the root of the matter, for a sacrifice is just a sacred action or rite directed to God. The Eucharist has a Godward aspect as well as a manward. We might assume, even if it

were not implied in our Lord's word *anamnesis*, that in celebrating the Eucharist we perform an action which is directed or offered to God; for it is unthinkable that the one divinely-ordered and distinctly Christian service should be something merely done by us, and directed to us and to us alone. If the Eucharist is worship at all, it is not secondarily, but primarily, as such offered to God; and that, I think, is the fundamental fact which is implied in the sacrifice of the Eucharist. Can we go further, without departing from Scripture and embarking on a perilous journey of unprofitable speculation? One further step, at least, we may take. "In remembrance *of Me*"—"for a memorial of Me." It is not simply of Christ's death that the Eucharist is the memorial, but of *Himself*, who is "alive for evermore," and who, as our High Priest, stands before God "the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world."[1] The death which, in S. Paul's words, we "proclaim till He come" cannot be isolated from the Resurrection and Ascension; the one sacrifice offered on earth is presented and pleaded by the Great High Priest in heaven. The memorial before God, therefore, is not simply Christ's Death, but Christ Himself, risen, ascended, and glorified *through death*. The Eucharist is not the memorial of Good Friday alone, but of Good Friday as illuminated and completed on Ascension Day.

[1] Rev. xiii. 8.

The whole truth finds expression in Dr Bright's familiar hymn :—

> "Look, Father, look on His anointed face,
> And only look on us as found in Him ;
> Look not on our misusings of Thy grace,
> Our prayer so languid and our faith so dim :
> For lo ! between our sins and their reward
> We set the Passion of Thy Son our Lord."

Now, if this be so, the further question hardly arises, "Is the Eucharist a substitute for, or a repetition of, the one offering on the Cross ?" To speak of the Eucharist as sacrificial in no way implies that the one oblation, once offered on Calvary and now pleaded by the Ascended Christ, is incomplete. Language has, indeed, been used which tends to encourage this view, and language is always the chief cause of theological difficulties. The Eucharist cannot be a substitute for, or a repetition of, the one Sacrifice ; it is the means of employing the one Sacrifice and of appropriating its priceless benefits. Christ, alive for evermore in the Sacrifice of Himself, is the justification of the Eucharist ; and the Eucharist is the presentation before God of that once offered Sacrifice as an eternal fact. In these days of suffering and death we are learning afresh the true meaning of sacrifice, which in the light of the Cross we can discover even in the animal sacrifices of the old covenant, the giving of life for others ; and nowhere so much as at the Eucharist are we in touch with those brave men and

women of all ages whose sacrifice of themselves is in some degree a reflection of the Sacrifice of Him who gave Himself for us.

The Presence in the Sacrament. In the space at my disposal little can be said as to the practical truth that it is signified in the invocation. Certainly no definition or theory of the Presence of Christ, still less "a moment of consecration," can be inferred from the invocation, nor indeed from the words of any known liturgy. What the invocation does emphasize is the reality or fact of Christ's Presence; in it we pray that the bread and wine may be, in the words of Justin Martyr, "no longer common bread and wine, but Eucharist." The words of our Lord, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood," mean no more and no less than what they say. No one would think of maintaining that the Presence of Christ is asserted in the Scottish rite and obscured in the English. For the former it may, however, be claimed that the reality of the Divine Presence is more clearly expressed in the prayer by which God is asked to bless the symbols of bread and wine by His Spirit, so that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ for the primary purpose of Communion.

Prayer for the Departed. If the union between the Church on earth and the Church in Paradise is a fact of revelation, then there should be some means of expressing it in the liturgy.

Unfortunately, the *séance* of the spiritualists is, at the present time, too commonly assumed to be the only mode of opening communication between the living and the departed, a poor enough substitute even on natural grounds for the dignity and the spirituality of prayer. We pray for the departed, because, if we think of them at all, we must do so; our thought of them shapes itself into a wish, and a wish is a prayer, unspoken no doubt, but a prayer all the same. Why not, therefore, express this ineradicable instinct in the worship of the Church? Prayer for the departed must, indeed, contain an element of reserve; for we have but little knowledge of their condition and their needs, but with this qualification there is no essential difference between prayer for the living and prayer for the departed. There are no *dead* in Paradise; only those that are gloriously alive are there, living in the presence of Christ, growing more and more into His likeness; and, therefore, the departed in Christ are no more outside the scope of our prayer than the living are on earth. That is the principle that underlies our Lord's words, "I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob; He is not the God of the dead but of the living." Whether prayer for the departed was a practice of the Jews in our Lord's day is a disputed point [1]; but there is no question as to their belief in an intermediate state of

[1] But see 2 Macc. xii. 45 (*c.* 120 B.C.).

consciousness and rest; and, when S. Paul prayed that Onesiphorus might receive mercy in the last day, it seems clear that the friend, of whom he speaks only in the past tense, was in Paradise.[1] The inscriptions in the catacombs of Rome, from the second century onwards, bear witness to the naturalness and reserve with which Christians in those early days spoke of the departed in prayer. "Jesus, Lord, remember our child"; "God refresh thy spirit"; "In peace be thy Spirit" are some of the epitaphs.[2] Evidence for such intercession at the Eucharist goes back to the fourth century; but long before that date it was the custom to offer the Eucharist for the departed, a practice which is mentioned by Tertullian[3] (A.D. 190), and which, if usual in his day, must be considerably nearer to Apostolic times than the end of the second century. We need not expect to find actual prayers for the departed in the New Testament. What we learn from the Gospels and the Epistles is the assurance of an intermediate state after death, a Paradise of consciousness and life and progress; and in that undoubted truth lies the strongest justification of prayer for the departed, of which S. Paul's ejaculation for Onesiphorus is the natural expression.

[1] 2 Tim. i. 18, v. 19.

[2] Swete, *The Holy Catholic Church*, p. 226; *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, i. 426.

[3] "We make oblations for the departed" (*De Cor.* 3).

It is unfortunate that prayer for the departed, even more than prayer for the living, has been degraded by an unworthy demand for results. To treat prayer as if it were something of "a penny in the slot" machine—putting up a prayer, and there and then taking out a result—is at the least an impertinence, not far removed from blasphemy. We must leave the results of our intercession to God as regards both the living and the dead; but to speak to Him for the living and remain silent about the departed is an inconsistency which is far harder to justify than the practice of prayer for the departed. The indefiniteness of the Scottish remembrance, if it be a fault, errs on the safe side; a more explicit prayer, composed by Bishop Dowden, is given among the Additional Prayers in the Scottish Prayer Book.

Thanksgiving for the Saints. Thankful commemoration of the heroes of the faith is a duty, the value of which few, if any, would question; and nothing need be said here in its favour. The Scottish commemoration at some future time might be strengthened and defined, not by a list of the saints (which in ancient liturgies is little more than a string of names), but by the mention of classes, such as prophets, Apostles, martyrs, introduced by the name of the Mother of our Lord.

The Mixed Chalice. The mixed cup, as we have seen, was not prescribed in the liturgy of 1764; but in the authorized form

of 1912 a permissive rubric, derived from Bishop Torry's Prayer Book, was inserted to this effect, "It is customary to mix a little pure water with the wine in the eucharistic Cup." Evidence for the mixed chalice at the Passover in our Lord's time is of too minute a character to be set down; but full and accurate details of it will be found in a pamphlet, published under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, dealing with the question of fermented wine.[1] A perusal of this scholarly paper will convince any intelligent person that our Lord must have used at the Eucharist fermented wine mixed with water; and, therefore, we are not surprised, in the description of the service given by Justin Martyr, to find that "bread and wine and water are presented" at the Eucharist. In later times a symbolical significance was attached to the mixed chalice, which was compared with the blood and water that came from the pierced side of our Lord; but symbolism of this kind is not the justification of the mixed cup, which owes its origin simply to the example of our Lord.

Reservation. We have seen that reservation was formally sanctioned in 1912, though the practice was by no means a novelty at that date. The rubric is as follows: "According to long existing custom in the Scottish Church, the Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may

[1] S.P.C.K., 1917.

be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the celebration in church." The practical advantages of communicating the sick with the reserved Sacrament are obvious and need not be enumerated here.

But it should be noted that reservation, as contemplated in the rubric, is not for the sick alone, but for any "who could not be present at the celebration in church." The sick are usually the people who cannot be present in church; yet others, engaged in necessary work or in household duties, may be debarred no less than the sick from the celebration in church, and the intention of the new rubric is that these should be given an opportunity of receiving their Communion with the reserved Sacrament, either by coming at a later time to receive it in church, or by having it carried to them in their homes. The rubric is carefully framed to make the provision which Justin Martyr mentions as customary in the middle of the second century, "and to those who are not present it is sent by the hands of the deacons."[1] The inference seems clear. Communion is a pledge of the unity of the Christian assembly, and no member of it should absolve himself from participation in the Sacrament of unity; if he cannot be present at the holy assembly, the Sacrament of that assembly may be conveyed to him through the deacons at another time. This, then, is

[1] *Apol.* i. 65.

the spiritual principle that underlies reservation ; the sick or absent communicant participates with his brethren in church in the consecrated gifts. Reservation of the Sacrament, therefore, is not merely a primitive practice, and a practical convenience ; it is also an expression of the unity of a congregation, and, through that congregation, of the unity of the church. It need hardly be added that reservation for any other purpose than communion is not contemplated in the Scottish rubric ; and, though the Sacrament should be reserved with all befitting reverence, no encouragement is lent to the Roman practice of reservation for the purpose of worship, which is neither primitive nor Scottish.

CHAPTER VII

The Influence of the Scottish Liturgy

THE influence which a liturgical rite exercises outside its own sphere may be justly regarded as some criterion of its worth. It is, however, not surprising that the Scottish liturgy should have awakened little or no interest among Scottish Presbyterians, since they are as yet only beginning to recognize the value of set forms of worship. But, when the great time comes for a reunion that will give to Scotland one Church, at once Catholic and National, the Scottish liturgy may play an important part in shaping the worship of the Scottish people at the Sacrament of unity. The liturgical scholarship of the present Professor of Church History in Glasgow University—the Rev. Professor Cooper—and of ministers like the late Dr MacLeod and Dr Sprott, is evidence, which might be easily multiplied, of the growth of interest in the principles of liturgical worship in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

In England. In my opinion English appreciation of the Scottish liturgy at the present time is far more impressive than

the facts which can be adduced to prove its influence in the past; and on that ground I content myself with only a few words on the historical aspect of the subject.

In 1661 the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 was before the revisers of the Book of Common Prayer; and, though it failed to affect the most important part of the English liturgy, it left its mark on other parts of the service. The rubrics referring to the collection of the alms, and to the presentation of the elements, the manual acts at the Consecration, the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, and the important addition of the commemoration of the departed in the Prayer for the Church Militant, all owe their place in the present English Communion Service to the ill-fated Scottish liturgy of 1637. In the eighteenth century "Laud's Liturgy" was no doubt known to the English as well as to the Scottish Nonjurors, though it cannot be said to have materially affected that movement in England. It is not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that we find any noteworthy signs in England of interest in the Scottish form of 1764; but the testimony of Bishop Horsley as early as 1806 is so remarkable as to deserve quotation. "The Scottish Office is more conformable to the primitive models, and, in my private judgement, more edifying than that which we now use."[1] From this time onwards English interest in the Scottish form

[1] Dowden, *Annot. Scott. Com. Off.*, p. 106.

grew steadily; and, after the publication of Bishop Dowden's book in 1884, spread widely, so much so that in his standard work on the Book of Common Prayer the eminent liturgist, Dr Frere, could describe it as "the best liturgy in use in the Anglican Communion." [1]

It is, however, in the movement for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer that we observe most clearly the marked impression which the Scottish liturgy has produced in the Church of England. That movement, which was started about the same time as the proposals for the revision of the Scottish liturgy, has resulted in an extraordinary output of liturgical literature; and, among the publications that have appeared during the last ten years dealing with suggestions for the improvement of the English service book, there are few that fail to testify to the value of the Scottish form. I select three as offering striking evidence of the influence of the Scottish liturgy upon the Church of England.

The first of these is entitled *The Sufficiency and Defects of the English Communion Office*, by the Rev. A. G. Walpole Sayer, B.D. (Cambridge Press, 1911). "It will be seen," says this author, "that the desire of this writer is to adopt the lines of the Scottish Service" (p. 125). Referring to the absence of thanksgiving in the English rite, Mr Sayer advocates the adoption of

[1] Procter and Frere, p. 151.

the Scottish and American introduction to the Eucharistic prayer, "All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father" (p. 117); and, while agreeing that the invocation in the Prayer Book of 1549 would be a valuable addition to the English Consecration Prayer, he expresses his preference for the Scottish order in these words: "If and when the much-to-be-desired conforming of our Office to the Scottish model is attained, some different method would be required."

In 1914 there was published *A Revised Liturgy* (A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd.), edited by B. W. Randolph, Canon of Ely, with a preface by the Rev. J. H. Maude; and in this book the arrangement of the Eucharistic Prayer in the Scottish liturgy is regarded as the ideal. The editor incorporates a number of Scottish features, including several of the new proper prefaces, the special prayers for the Christian seasons, the introduction to the Lord's Prayer, etc.; and he speaks of the Scottish form as "the beautiful liturgy now in use in the Scottish Church" (p. 12).

In *A Prayer Book Revised* (A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1913), with a preface by Bishop Gore, the editor writes: "In regard to the Communion Service, the changes needed are mainly in the order of the various parts; but it is agreed by all who have studied the subject that these changes are needed urgently, and that the present dislocation of the office is a real

source of weakness in all those churches of our communion which *have not the advantage of using the Scottish or American liturgies*" (p. 11). In this book the Invocation is taken from the Scottish form of 1637, on the ground that it combines the words of 1549 and 1552, while the suggested Prayer of Consecration opens with the Scottish form of thanskgiving, "All glory."

Whatever be the issue of the revision movement in England—and the wise man will not look for sweeping changes—it is evident that the defects of the English Communion Service are widely felt throughout the Church of England, and that some rearrangement of its parts is long overdue. How far the changes will go no one can tell; but their direction must almost inevitably be towards the order of the Scottish liturgy.

In America. The influence of the liturgy in America is no uncertain or indefinite quality, but a matter of plain fact. It is unnecessary to repeat here the romantic story of the consecration of the first bishop of the American Church in the obscure chapel of S. Andrew, Aberdeen, in 1784, at which the Scottish liturgy, in its nonjuring form, was employed. It was natural enough that Dr Seabury, on his return to Connecticut, should desire to see in the new service book of the Church of the United States the primitive features of the liturgy which had been used at his con-

secration; and for several years the Scottish form of 1764, with a few alterations, was used throughout his diocese. On the publication of a complete service book for the Church in the United States, in 1790, Bishop Seabury's Communion Office was given up.

It is in the Eucharistic Prayer of the American Communion Office that the influence of the Scottish liturgy is most clearly seen. The order of the parts is exactly the same, viz.—(1) Thanksgiving for redemption and narrative of institution, (2) oblation, and (3) invocation; and the prayer itself begins with the Scottish thanksgiving, "All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father." The invocation follows the Scottish form of 1764 (p. 41) down to "bread and wine," and then reads "that we, receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His Death and Passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood," these words being taken from the English Consecration Prayer. The rest of the office bears closer resemblance to the English than to the Scottish liturgy; the intercession is early in the service, and the Prayer of Consecration late, Communion following the latter immediately. "The people's preparation" is made after the offertory, but the Prayer of Humble Access is separated from it and unfortunately placed between the Preface and the Con-

secration Prayer, as in the English service. The bidding to the intercession is a curious compromise between the English and the Scottish forms, "militant" being retained and "here in earth" omitted. Not a few American Churchmen regret that the Scottish model was not more closely followed in the order of its parts. We, on the other hand, cannot but marvel at the courage of the compilers of the American liturgy in taking its most characteristic and beautiful features from the liturgy of a Church which, at the time, was reduced to "the shadow of a shade," and utterly destitute of worldly prestige.

In Australia. From the Commonwealth of Australia there has recently appeared a testimony to the value of the liturgy, which is so remarkable as to deserve quotation. In the Moorhouse Lectures for 1915, delivered at Melbourne by the Rev. John Stephen Hart, M.A., B.Sc., Canon of S. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, and published under the title of *Spiritual Sacrifice* (Longmans & Co.), the author maintains that the most rational interpretation of the Atonement and of the Eucharist is Eastern and not Western, and that worship in the West, more especially in the Church of Rome, is liturgically weak because based on one-sided doctrinal principles. Whether he is successful in his argument or not, his conclusion is interesting and even arresting; for it amounts to this—that Eastern models of worship are far superior to those

of the West. This is what he says of the Scottish liturgy :—

"Wherever unbiassed and wide study has been undertaken by our scholars, they have seen that Rome is a blind guide, and that it is the Eastern Church which knows how to offer the Eucharist. This is especially true of those Scottish divines, taught themselves apparently by the Nonjurors, whose devout learning is enshrined in the liturgy of their Church, and less perfectly in that of the United States. They turned the beginning of the English Consecration Prayer into an orthodox thanksgiving, and as they had abandoned the Italian error that the words of the institution are words of consecration, they were able to make a proper memorial and oblation with elements still unconsecrated, though solemnly identified as symbols with the Body and Blood of Christ. The Consecration Prayer followed this, as it always should ; and they did not cease from prayer and oblation until they had commended to God the Church and all estates of men in it. In comparison with the Scottish liturgy the Roman Mass is as feeble and unsatisfying to the devout worshipper as it is pernicious and uncatholic in doctrine" (p. 199). We need not feel obliged to subscribe to every statement in this quotation ; it is printed here as a remarkable testimony to the value of the liturgy from one who has probably never set foot on Scottish soil, and who by the sheer merits of the Scottish

rite is driven to express his admiration of it in the strongest terms.

India. In a volume entitled *The Eucharist in India*,[1] six Prefaces are taken directly from the Scottish liturgy, and the whole structure of the service is based on the liturgy of S. James, from which also the Scottish rite derived its distinctive features. The compilers of this Indian liturgy declare that the Eastern order of the parts in general is specially suited to the genius of the Indian people, and commend the wisdom of the Scottish Church in making the Invocation the central point in the Consecration Prayer.

In the Future. In 1884 Bishop Dowden, referring to the possibility of intercommunion between the holy Eastern and the Anglican Churches, wrote as follows: "It would then be no small matter that the American and Scottish Churches possess liturgies which, however bald and meagre they may appear in comparison with the copious and ornate rites of the East, would yet be acknowledged by the bishops of the Russian and Greek Church as manifestly containing the essentials of the Eucharistic service, and even their own ancient order and arrangement of its most solemn parts."[2] These words are alive with a significance to-day that was impossible thirty years ago. Rumania and Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia are far nearer to us in interest and sym-

[1] (Longmans, 1920.)

[2] *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, p. 14.

pathy than they were then. By and by, with fresh means of communication opening, they may be almost at our doors ; and when the people of those countries begin to study the forms of worship of this country it will be in the Scottish liturgy that they will find themselves most at home.

CHAPTER VIII

Notes on the Text of the Liturgy

THE Title. "The Scottish Liturgy" was adopted in 1912 instead of "The Scottish Communion Office," as the liturgy was commonly called previous to that date. The term "liturgy" is derived from a Greek word, leitourgia, signifying in pre-Christian times a public or state service of any kind; in the Greek version of the Old Testament and in the New Testament the word is applied definitely to the service or worship of God, and hence became the natural term to describe the form in which the chief act of divine worship, the Eucharist, is enshrined. In the East the usual title for the form of service employed in celebrating the Eucharist is "the Divine Liturgy."

Opening Rubric. The whole of the opening rubric is derived from the book of 1637, and exhibits the compilers' care for the external adjuncts of worship. The altar is described as "The Holy Table," and this name is employed also in Eastern liturgies, which give to the term "altar" the meaning of the place where the Holy Table stands. In 1 Cor. x. 18 and 21 the

terms "altar" and "table" are interchangeable. The Holy Table is to have not only "a fair white linen cloth" upon it, but also "other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated." It is to stand "at the uppermost part of the chancel or church," a direction indicating Archbishop Laud's disapproval of the Puritanical practice in England of placing the table lengthwise "in the body of the chancel or church." Nothing is said about the position of the priest, except that he is to stand "at the Holy Table."

The Priest, however, is called "Presbyter" here and throughout the liturgy. The Greek original of this word is translated "elder" in the A.V., but R.V. gives "Presbyter" in the margin, and this term by a process of abbreviation becomes first Prester, and then Priest. The function of the Presbyters or Priests in Acts xx. 28 is described as "feeding the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (bishops)." The Presbyter, therefore, was sometimes known as "bishop," but he was obviously subordinate to the Apostles. The three orders of the ministry in Apostolic times were Apostles, Presbyters or Bishops, and Deacons. In course of time the term bishop was applied to the Apostolic office, the name Apostle being confined to the Twelve, although originally it included more than these. As early as S. Ignatius, 112 A.D., the terms Bishops, Priests, and Deacons mean three

distinct officials, but in some places the words "bishop" and "presbyter" were for a considerable time used to describe the same person.

PART I

The Lord's Prayer and the following collect were, in the pre-reformation service, part of the Priest's private preparation. Hence the direction, "*he* shall say the Lord's Prayer and the collect following," the Scottish liturgy here adding to the English rubric the words "for due preparation." In this collect it is worth noting the collocation of words with the letter "s," which gives a certain grave solemnity to the music of the language that fits well with the thought.

The Ten Commandments. It is noticeable that the rubric here speaks of "the spiritual import of each commandment" as well as the literal, a necessary reminder, since the commandments are Jewish, and were given a new and wider meaning by our Lord. Their use in the liturgy is peculiar to the Anglican Communion, and may be said to testify to the national instinct for duty. It has been held that the commandments, being part of a chapter of the Old Testament, correspond to the Old Testament lesson, which, in some liturgies, is found in addition to the Epistle and Gospel. The response at the end of each command-

ment has a curious history. In 1549 the lesser litany, "Lord have mercy," etc., occurred here, each clause being repeated three times. The Reformers of 1552 took these nine Kyries, and with the addition "incline our hearts . . ." attached them to each commandment, adding a slightly different one to the tenth.

The Summary of the Law is that according to S. Mark, the earliest Gospel. In 1764 the form, slightly changed to suit its position, was from S. Matthew.

Kyries. An alternative to the commandments and to the summary is provided for weekdays, not being Great Festivals, by the lesser litany, "Lord have mercy, etc." In the Eastern liturgies a full litany occurs here with the response "Kyrie Eleison," and no doubt the Kyries in this place are a relic of this original litany, the petitions having been dropped to shorten the service, and the response alone surviving.

The Collect for the day is, in accordance with ancient custom, introduced by the greeting, "The Lord be with you," and the reply, "and with thy Spirit."

The Epistle is read only by the priest according to the English Prayer Book. The Scottish liturgy, again following ancient precedent, permits the deacon to do this, and elsewhere assigns the deacon his specific duties in the rite. Sitting is the proper posture for the people during the Epistle; to kneel is to render somewhat

meaningless the attitude of kneeling at prayer.

The Gospel, as enshrining the words and deeds of our Lord, has always been specially honoured in the liturgy. It is heard standing, and is preceded and followed by a short hymn of praise and thanksgiving. Ultimately this custom goes back to the ancient practice of interspersing Scripture readings with psalms or canticles. "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," occurs in many liturgies, including the Roman. "Thanks be to Thee, O Lord," was enjoined in 1637 after the Gospel. The additional words, "for this Thy glorious Gospel," are purely Scottish and were suggested to the Non-Jurors by similar language in the Eastern liturgies.

The Nicene Creed was not introduced into any liturgy before the fifth century. In the earliest ages creeds were only used at Baptism. The Nicene Creed is in one respect a misnomer, for at Nicæa the formula stopped at "I believe in the Holy Ghost." The present form is probably due to the Council of Constantinople, 381 A.D., though the "filioque" clause ("and the Son") was not introduced until 589 A.D.

The Sermon is not obligatory, though in primitive times it always occurred after the Scripture readings; psychologically the Eucharist is not the best time for preaching.

Here the first or introductory part of

the service ends. Catechumens, the excommunicate, and non-Christians in early times withdrew after prayer at this point, a solemn warning being given that none but the faithful—that is, those in communion with the Church—should be present at the Holy Mysteries.

PART II.—THE ANAPHORA

The Offertory is not the collection, but a part of the service at which the offering, both of the bread and wine and of the alms of the people is made. The Presbyter or Deacon announces the offertory with the words, "Let us present our offerings. . . ." This phrase is derived from Bishop Rattray's office of 1744, but owes its origin to a similar sentence said by the Deacon in the Liturgy of Apostolic Constitutions. Among the sentences that follow, several new ones were added in 1912, e.g. Ps. xxvii. 7, Ps. l. 14, Ps. cxvi. 15, 16; Acts xx. 35; and Gal. vi. 10.

In the rubrics the word "offering" takes the place of the "oblations" of 1764, and the offering of bread and wine comes before the words "Blessed be Thou . . .," so that the complete offering of the elements and the alms is made in definite language as well as in symbolic act. This change was made at the recent revision. Whether the sentence of Solomon

is the best means of accomplishing the offertory is doubtful. Ancient liturgies have a short prayer here. The rubric suggests that the elements have been prepared for offering at the beginning of the service, and placed till now on the credence table. The offering should be made while the people stand, which seems also the natural position till the end of the "Sanctus," since this action is wholly one of praise and thanksgiving.

The Canon, as the central part of the service is called in the West, begins with the Salutation, and proceeds to the *Sursum Corda* and the Preface, which leads straight on to the Consecration. It would be well if this were more clearly indicated by printing all the Proper Prefaces as footnotes.

The Sursum Corda is probably the oldest known part of the service, being quoted by S. Cyprian in 240 A.D.

The Preface takes up the "it is meet and right" . . . of the *Sursum Corda*, just as later in the service the Consecration prayer begins with the word "Glory" carried on from the Sanctus. This is a characteristic feature of the old liturgies, the psychological effect of which is obvious. The Preface ends with the hymn of Creation, the Sanctus "Holy, Holy, Holy" . . ., which is found in nearly all liturgies. The whole of the Preface is a thanksgiving, and it is mistaken reverence to utter the Sanctus in a low tone, though a bow of adoration is suitable. The Benedictus

("blessed is He that cometh . . ."), should, if it be sung, follow the Sanctus in accordance with old precedent; it is not prescribed in the Scottish liturgy, which thus links the "Glory be" of the Preface directly with the "All glory be" of the Consecration Prayer.

Proper Preface. "Proper" is a technical term (Latin, proprium), meaning special, i.e. for a particular occasion. In addition to the five Proper Prefaces of the English Prayer Book, the Scottish liturgy gives seven others, all of them so good that they have been adopted elsewhere, e.g. in the proposed liturgy of the Indian Church. They were composed by Bishop Dowden, and after consideration accepted by the Scottish bishops in 1911.

Prayer of Consecration. The rubric dates from 1637, the position of the Priest being prescribed as "at such a part of the Holy Table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands."

Little need be said here on the structure of this prayer, which is described on pp. 13 ff. But it should be observed that while the emphasis of the Prayer falls on the oblation or *anamnesis* and the Invocation, something of the Western attachment to the words of institution is retained by the imposition of hands at "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." Nevertheless the prayer is constructed on the principle that the narrative of the institution is the reason for "making

the memorial," while the presence of the Invocation shews that the consecration of the elements is effected by prayer, and not by a formula. At the same time, it must be remembered that Eastern liturgies assign due importance to the words of institution. The Invocation would, in my judgement, be greatly improved if it were shortened by omitting the following clauses:—

(i) "humbly praying that it may be unto us according to his will"—a useless petition here, and one framed out of words drawn from a wholly different context.

(ii) "being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power"—a clause that hinders the flow of the sentence. If retained, "power" should be changed to "presence." Further, the last two paragraphs of the prayer might be abbreviated by omitting all from "beseeching thee that all we . . ." down to "dwell in us and we in him."

Prayer for the Church. The Deacon may say the bidding. An Amen inserted after the petitions for the living, and after those for the dead, would lessen the strain which is caused by the sequence of two long prayers, especially if Amen were added also after the Invocation, and perhaps after the narrative of the Institution (see p. 32); there is abundant precedent

for this in ancient liturgies. The fine old word "indifferently" has been changed to the journalistic "impartially," a doubtful gain. "Living" for "lively" is more justifiable.

The Lord's Prayer is found in most liturgies as completing and summarizing the Intercession, and concluding the Canon.

"*The People's Part*" (see pp. 29 f.) is a distinctly Reformation product, and includes, besides the Conf., Abs., Comf. words,

(1) The Invitation, in which the words "with faith" were added, from the English Prayer Book, in 1912. In the liturgy of 1637 these words did not appear, and consequently were absent from the Scottish liturgy of 1764.

(2) The Collect of Humble Access, a title which is first found in the liturgy of 1637, differs from the English form by adding "holy" to Table, and changing "sacred" to "most sacred," and "precious" to "most precious."

The Communion "in both kinds," that is, in both species, is enjoined, excluding the Roman practice of communion in one kind, which was introduced into the Roman Church from a mistaken idea of reverence in the Middle Ages and authoritatively sanctioned by the Council of Constance, 1415 A.D.

"Into their hands," i.e. excluding the

mediæval practice (according to which the Priest placed the Sacrament in the mouth of the communicant), and thus enlisting the communicant's active co-operation, which is also emphasized by his *Amen* on reception. The words of administration are according to the first English Prayer Book of 1549; in 1764 "soul" preceded "body," the order of the words being reversed in 1912. No words of administration were prescribed in the Sarum service for the people, but the formula in the Scottish liturgy is substantially the same as that used for the communion of the priest in the present Roman service and in the Sarum Manual. In 1764 the words of administration were described as "this benediction"; this was omitted in 1912, as the words are not strictly a benediction.

Reconsecration. The Scottish liturgy requires (i) that if more bread and wine has to be consecrated, the form used must be the whole prayer to the end of the Invocation, thus insisting with emphasis that prayer is a necessary act in consecration; (ii) that consecration must be "in both kinds," whereas in the English Prayer Book it may be "in one kind." We might defend the English practice of using only the words of institution by saying that the prayer, having been said once, need not be repeated, but the practice hardly admits of reasonable defence, and consecration in one kind would find few

supporters in any part of the Church, ancient or modern.

The Address after Communion appears first in 1764, and is based on similar addresses spoken by the Deacon in Eastern liturgies. Its opening words are a translation from a short exhortation in the fourth century liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.

The Collect of Thanksgiving is slightly different from that in the English Prayer Book. In 1549, when it was composed, it was preceded by the salutation. "Thy mystical body" of 1549 was altered in 1661 to "The mystical body of Thy Son," and the Scottish liturgy in 1764 substituted "commanded" for "prepared," an anti-Calvinistic touch which was omitted in 1912.

Gloria in Excelsis in the Prayer Book of 1549 stood at the beginning of the service after the Kyries. The Scottish differs as follows from the English, by adhering to the oldest copy of that hymn, which is found in Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth century: (i) "Glory be to God in the Highest"; (ii) the ascription of praise is to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, "and to Thee, O God, the only begotten Son, Jesu Christ, and to Thee, O God, the Holy Ghost." A similar form is found in the Stowe Missal of the Celtic Church. (iii) one repetition of "Thou that takest away the sins of the world" is omitted.

The Peace before the blessing is the only

relic we have of the old "Pax" or "Kiss of Peace" (p. 111); it would be as well to print this so that it does not appear as if it were an integral part of the Blessing.

The Blessing is in a sense an anticlimax, for *the* blessing in the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of our Lord.

For the two concluding rubrics, see pp. 72 f.

Appendix—new Collects.

"O Almighty God, well-spring of life . . ." From *Book of Deer*.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, before whose judgement seat . . .." paraphrase of a verse of St Columba's poem, *Altus*.

"O Lord our God, thou Saviour . . .." a free translation from *Book of Deer*.

Prayers for Festivals and Seasons were composed by Bishop Dowden, and adopted by the Scottish bishops in 1911, and are a valuable means of introducing the festival note immediately before the Blessing.

APPENDIX A

Outline of the Scottish Liturgy

With the Principal Parts of the Anaphora

(The Divisions and Titles are the Author's)

I. PRO-ANAPHORA

(*A*) Lord's Prayer, Collect for Purity, and Ten Commandments, with Kyries, or Summary of the Law (S. Mark xii. 29 f.); or on weekdays, not being great festivals, Threefold Kyrie alone.

(*B*) Collect for the day, preceded by ℣. "The Lord be with you," and ℟. "And with thy spirit." "Let us pray."

(*C*) Epistle and Gospel, the latter preceded by "Glory be to thee, O Lord," and followed by "Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for this thy glorious Gospel." Nicene Creed.

(*D*) Sermon. "If there be a Sermon it followeth here."

II. ANAPHORA

(*A*) *Offertory*, preceded by "Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and godly fear." Offertory sentences and collection of "the devotions of the people."

And the Presbyter shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table; and shall say,

Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all: both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. *Amen.*

(*B*) *Sursum Corda.*

Then shall the Presbyter say,

THE Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Presbyter. Lift up your hearts.

Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

(*C*) *Preface and Sanctus* (as in B.C.P.).

Presbyter.

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, etc.

(*D*) *Prayer of Consecration.*

Then the Presbyter, standing at such a part of the Holy Table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth:

ALL glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who, by his own oblation of himself once offered, made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memorial of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again. For, in the night that he was betrayed, (*a*) he took bread; and when he had given thanks, (*b*) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (*c*) this is my body, which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (*d*) he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for (*e*) this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

(*a*) *Here the Presbyter is to take the paten in his hands:*

(*b*) *And here to break the bread:*

(*c*) *And here to lay his hands upon all the bread.*

(*d*) *Here he is to take the cup into his hand:*

(*e*) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.*

Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here

The Oblation.

before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, and looking for his coming again with power and great glory.

The Invocation.

And, humbly praying that it may be unto us according to his word, we thine unworthy servants beseech Thee, most merciful Father, to hear us, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that, being blessed and hallowed by his life-giving power, they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, to the end that all who shall receive the same may be sanctified both in body and soul, and preserved unto everlasting life.

And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice for praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we humbly offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto thee, beseech-

ing thee that all we who shall be partakers of his holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in us and we in him. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall the Presbyter or Deacon say,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

(*E*) *The Great Intercession.*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

The Presbyter.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant that all they that do con-

fess thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and especially thy servant *GEORGE* our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and impartially minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and living word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants, who, having

finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then shall the Presbyter say,

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

(*F*) *Lord's Prayer.*

Presbyter and People.

OUR Father . . .

(*G*) "*People's Preparation.*"—Short Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Prayer of Humble Access (as in Book of Common Prayer).

(*H*) *Communion,* with words of administration :—

THE body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.

THE blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.

If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Presbyter is to consecrate more in both kinds according to the form before prescribed, beginning at the words, All glory be to thee, &c., *and ending with the words,* preserved unto everlasting life. *And the people shall say,* Amen.

When all have communicated, he that celebrateth shall go to the Lord's Table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements.

Then the Presbyter or Deacon, turning to the people, shall say,

III

Post-Communion.

HAVING now received the precious body and blood of Christ, let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries ; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions ; and that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the

all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

This exhortation may be omitted except on Sundays and the Great Festivals.

Then the Presbyter shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth:

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we heartily thank thee . . . (as in Book of Common Prayer).

Then shall be said or sung Gloria in excelsis *as followeth:*

GLORY be to God in the highest, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Presbyter, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart, with this Blessing.

THE peace of God . . . (as in Book of Common Prayer).

It is customary to mix a little pure water with the wine in the eucharistic Cup.

According to long existing custom in the Scottish Church, the Presbyter may reserve so much of the Consecrated Gifts as may be required for the communion of the sick, and others who could not be present at the celebration in church.

APPENDIX B

The Principal Liturgical Rites

OLD liturgies may be grouped under the following heads (details are omitted):—

I.—EASTERN

1. *Syrian.* (*a*) Liturgy of Apostolic Constitutions (so-called liturgy of S. Clement).
   (*b*) Liturgy of Jerusalem, i.e. S. James in Greek (now used only once a year) and S. James in Syriac.
2. *Byzantine* rite, i.e. liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, used by Orthodox Church in Greek, Slavonic, Rumanian, and other languages.
3. The *Armenian* rite, used by Armenians in their own language.
4. The *Egyptian* rite, i.e. liturgy of S. Mark in Greek (no longer used), S. Mark in Coptic (used by the Copts), Ethiopic liturgy (used in Abyssinia).

II.—WESTERN

1. *Roman* rite, used by the Church of Rome. The Sarum, York, and Hereford uses are local variations of this,

and from these the English rite is derived.

2. *Gallican* rite, now represented only by the Ambrosian at Milan and the Mozarabic at Toledo.

It will be seen that the Scottish liturgy is modelled on I., and especially on 1 (*a*), (*b*), though its origin from the Book of Common Prayer gives it a place in II. 1 also.

APPENDIX C

The Pax or Kiss of Peace

IT is somewhat surprising that at the present time, when so many are conscious of the need of a fuller expression of brotherhood within the Church, no definite proposal should have been made to revive in the liturgy the Kiss of Peace or Pax, a feature which is found in all liturgies, and which is mentioned by Justin Martyr as customary at the Eucharist in the first half of the second century. No one with a sense of humour would think of suggesting the restoration of the literal Kiss, which even in the East has come to be represented only by a symbolical act. But the essential principle might be expressed by some such words as these which are taken from the Byzantine rite of the ninth century.

Priest. Peace be to all.
People. And to thy spirit.
Priest or Deacon. Let us love one another.

(And this might perhaps be added.)

Priest. We being many are one body.
People. And every one members one of another.

The usual position of the Pax in ancient liturgies (as in Justin) is at the beginning

of the central part of the service, before the *Sursum Corda*. This significant expression of mutual charity has disappeared from the English and Scottish rite, though a relic of it remains in "The Peace of God," before the Blessing; but it is required in our own day, even more than in Apostolic times when "the holy kiss" was a natural symbol of Christian fellowship.

APPENDIX D

Intercession in the Liturgy

THE earliest form of intercession at the Eucharist was "the prayers of the faithful," intercessory prayers in which the baptized joined after the catechumens and others unqualified to receive Holy Communion had withdrawn from the church. Justin Martyr (A.D. 140) speaks of "hearty prayers in common" being said before the offertory, and these could not well have been "common" unless there had been some sort of response. All the Eastern rites have a litany in this place, called Synapte, chanted by the deacon, the response being "*Lord, have mercy.*" There is nothing corresponding to this feature in the Scottish or English liturgy; but a relic of it survives in the use of the litany, especially at the consecration of bishops, where it is appointed to be sung or said before the central part of the Eucharistic service. In the Roman liturgy "the prayers of the faithful" have disappeared; but after the Gospel there is the bidding "Let us pray," only no prayers follow.

Another mode of intercession developed in the fourth century round the "diptychs," the two tablets from which the names of persons, living and departed, for whom

prayer was invited, were read. By a rubric added to the Scottish Prayer Book in 1912, permission is given to ask the prayers of the congregation for the sick or others before the Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church, though unfortunately this rubric, by an oversight, is not printed in the liturgy itself.

The Great Intercession, which we find in liturgies towards the close of the fourth century, was not introduced as a substitute for the prayers of the faithful and the reading of the names: all three methods of intercession are employed in ancient forms. The Great Intercession, though its usual place is after the consecration, is found in some rites earlier in the service. The reader is referred for full information on this subject to the Bishop of Moray's learned article on Intercession (liturgical) in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vii.

APPENDIX E

Questions for Study Circles and Classes

I

1. The Apostles would follow our Lord's practice at the Institution when they celebrated the Eucharist. Consider how this is done in the English and Scottish liturgies. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.

2. How is the Scottish liturgy built up? What is the common-sense reason for the arrangement of its parts? How does it differ from the English liturgy, and why?

3. How are Intercession and Thanksgiving provided for in the liturgy? How should these be brought into touch with modern needs?

4. What is the central part of the service? Why is it that so few appreciate this? How would you make this more intelligible?

5. What would be the loss or gain if the following changes were made:—

(i) Transpose the Gloria in Excelsis to a place before the Collect for the day?

(ii) Remove Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access, and place after the Ten Commandments?

(iii) Place Amen after Words of Institution, Invocation, and the petitions for the living and the dead?

II

1. Examine the outline of any ancient liturgy and study its value (i) spiritually, (ii) psychologically.

2. Apply to the Scottish liturgy S. Paul's principles of worship from 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 26, 40.

3. Discuss and compare the two theories of Consecration; how may they be combined?

4. Study the oblation or *anamnesis* in the Scottish liturgy, and bring out its significance.

5. Consider the Invocation in the Scottish liturgy. What corresponds to it in the English?

III

1. "Liturgical composition is an art that must meet modern needs." Discuss this.

2. Consider the place of (i) the Great Intercession, (ii) the Lord's Prayer in the Scottish liturgy.

3. "The romance of the Scottish liturgy." Consider this from History.

4. Take the American Communion Service and compare it with the Scottish liturgy.

5. Discuss the commemoration of the departed and of the Saints in the liturgy.

IV

1. What is the value of (i) the Deacon's biddings; (ii) The Salutation; (iii) Proper Preface; (iv) the Mixed Chalice?

2. Consider the value of Sacramental Reservation.

3. Set forth the advantages and disadvantages of the English liturgy as compared with the Scottish.

4. How was Eucharistic worship offered in the second century? Compare it with the Scottish liturgy.

V

1. Examine the Proper Prefaces and Prayers for Festivals added in 1912, and estimate their value.

2. Consider how the Scottish liturgy effects the purpose of the Eucharist. How would you improve it?

3. In what ways do you think external adjuncts and ceremonies add to the dignity of the Eucharist?

4. Select and consider Eastern influences in the Scottish liturgy.

BOOKS FOR STUDY

1. BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.—The standard works are Procter and Frere's *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*; and Brightman's *The English Rite*. Beginners will find Dearmer's *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* (Mowbrays, 2*s.*; cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*), the S.P.C.K. *Commentary on the Prayer Book*, and Maude's *History of the Book of Common Prayer* useful. Bishop Dowden's *Workmanship of the Prayer Book* and *Further Studies* are valuable.

2. THE SCOTTISH LITURGY.—Bishop Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office* is the standard work, a new edition of which (1921) has been published by the Oxford Press. Historical details will be found in the writings of Bishop Mitchell, and of Stephen, Grub, Lawson, and others. Eeles' *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy* contains much interesting matter.

3. ANCIENT LITURGIES.—A good introduction is Srawley's *Early History of the Liturgy*; more interesting is Fortescue's *The Mass*, covering much the same ground from the Roman Catholic point of view. The valuable works of the Bishop of Moray—*Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Church Worship*, and *Ancient Church Orders*—should be studied, as well as the same author's learned articles on Intercession and Invocation (liturgical) in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

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